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ABSTRACT

A narrative study was conducted of the visual models in two movies preferred by Chinese adolescents in two schools (n=152). The two movies studied were "Three Decisive Campaigns" (A Chinese Trilogy) and the American science fiction movie, "Jurassic Park." The modified approach from Bandura's modeling theory and film semiotics was used to derive a more adequate explanation of modeling from the relationships among narrative, culture, and values. Results indicated that the narrative and cultural characteristics of the film characters at the levels of text, structure, and logic provide some basic prerequisites for model selection and preference. From the viewpoint of modeling, characters in the movies provide three main kinds of knowledge for vicarious learning: (1) social role norm; (2) the environmental contingency; and (3) the vicarious reinforcing experience. Findings suggest that different genres not only influence what kinds of value models are presented, but also how they are presented and how they are able to convince the viewer. Attention was also paid to the archetype of Chinese value models. Through the analyses of dragon myths, monarch literature, Confucianist classics, the social construction of the self by such practices as the family, cultural metaphors and socially proved life goals, the main ideas of Mao Ze-dong, and a comparative study of the way Chinese and American cultures present these two movies, the study not only reveals the general development of Chinese values from ancient to modern times, but also offers a perspective on how value models differ from culture to culture. Suggestions for effective movie models in classroom teaching and cultivation of teenagers' critical attitudes towards films and television are given. Contains extensive tables and references. Appended are the survey and a list of 10 preferred films. (BT)

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NARRATIVE, VISUAL MODEL AND DRAGON CULTURE

A Narrative Analysis of Value Presentation in Two Movies Preferred by Chinese Adolescents

SO 030 813

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Department of Education
University of Helsinki

Research Bulletin 98

HE JIN

NARRATIVE, VISUAL MODEL AND DRAGON CULTURE

A Narrative Analysis of Value Presentation in Two Movies Preferred by Chinese Adolescents

Academic dissertation to be publicly examined, by due permission of the Faculty of Education at the University of Helsinki in the Festivity Hall at the Department of Education on November 21, 1998 at 12 o'clock

Helsinki 1998

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To My Dear Mother, Father and Son
with gratitude for their love

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He Jin, September 1998

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He Jin

Narrative, Visual Model and Dragon Culture
A Narrative Analysis of Two Movies preferred by Chinese Adolescents

ABSTRACT

This research is a narrative study of the visual models in the two movies preferred by the Chinese adolescents of two schools (n = 152), taking the modified approach from Bandura's modelling theory and film semiotics in an attempt to derive a more adequate explanation of modelling from the relationships between narrative, culture and values. The first movie is a Chinese trilogy, Three Decisive Campaigns. The second is an American science fiction, Jurassic Park. The results indicate that the narrative and cultural characteristics of the movie characters at the levels of text, structure and logic provide some basic prerequisites for model selection and preference. A text is constituted by its formulaic elements. Characters, especially heroes and false heroes, are the most important elements for value communication. In a movie narrative value models are actualized by characters. Values in a character are communicated by binary oppositions in both textual elements and the plot pattern (the Proppian functions). From the viewpoint of modelling, characters in a certain movie mainly provide three kinds of knowledge for vicarious learning: social role norms, the environmental contingency and the vicarious reinforcing experience. This informational function of character is realized by the transformation of narrative roles and characters. Redundancy and salience are two important features of the values presented in the movies. But, in value learning, redundancy may be the most important. There is strong evidence in

my study that different genres not only influence what kinds of value model are presented, but also influence how they are presented and how they are able to convince the viewer. In addition, the effectiveness of characters as value models is also influenced by their logical features. Such features as rationality, reality and efficacy are vital for model selection. They also have their social and psychological elements. The social censures, the common value standards, aesthetic, informative and affective valences play important roles in model justification. Prevalence, audience familiarities, characterized plausibility or scientific plausibility are important in the heroic and science fiction movies, because they magically produce a credible and verisimilar reality for the viewers, and convince them to take the models as true. As for efficacy, outcome reinforcement functions differently in the various genres at the levels of forms, frequency, magnitude and contingency. This study also pays attention to the archetype of the Chinese value models. Through the analyses of dragon myths, monarch literature, Confucianist classics, the social construction of the self by such practices as the family, cultural metaphors and socially proved life goals, the main ideas of Mão Ze-dong, and a comparative study of the way Chinese and American cultures present these two movies, the study not only reveals the general development of the Chinese values from the ancient to modern times, but also offers a perspective on how value models differ from culture to culture. Finally the study offers some suggestions for using effective movie models in classroom teaching, and emphasizes the importance of cultivating teenagers' critical attitudes towards films and television shows.

Key words: modelling, reinforcement, narrative, binary oppositions, Proppian functions, formulaic elements, genre, rationality, reality, efficacy, values, Confucianism, Taoism, social censures (conventions) and Western environmental ethics.

概要

本项研究是运用班杜拉(Bandrra A.)的社会学习心理学理论，结合符号学家贝克尔 (Berger A.A.) 的结构方法，对广州 华新中学和南昌县中学的三个班级的高初中学生(n=152,平均年龄15.79) 最喜 爱的两部电影 "大决战" 与 "侏罗纪公园" 的文本进行分析，旨在从文本，文化，心理的角度探讨榜样 与青少 年价值观之间的关系，从而 为如何运用 影视榜样于道德教育提供可行性依据。

研究结果表明，影视榜样在文本，结构和逻辑方面的特征是影视榜样学习的重要前提。就影视榜样的文本特征而言，价值观的传递主要通过人物之间和人物与文本构成要素之间的相辅相成的关系得以实现的。就价值观而言，重复性与新颖性是影视榜样的两个不可分割的特征。新颖的影视榜样能吸引青少年的注意力，有利于记忆，满足他们的审美心理需要。它对影视榜样的选择和新价值观的传播起着重要的作用。 "侏罗纪公园" 中的影视榜样属于这类榜样。而价值榜样的重复性是传统价值观传递与学习过程中的主要特点。 "大决战" 中的影视榜样属于後一类。这一特征受价值观发展滞后性制约，因而它标定了价值学习的自身规律与特殊性。

就结构特征而言，角色人物的表演结构是构成故事的逻辑序列的主要形式。它是价值意义传播的基本形式。更为重要的是，它是维系行为，强化 和价值观的桥梁，藉而影响榜样学习。这类情节结构(Proppian functions)在两部电影中均存在。隐藏在情节结构和文本要素中的两极对立关系是文本的深层结构。它是价值意义传播的另一基本形式。除此之外，文本的类型不但影响其价值榜样的类型，而且影响价值榜样的效应。

影视榜样的逻辑特征即指与效应相关的三个指标。它们包括合理性，真实性与有效性。某特定社会的公众舆论或习俗，集体价值观，审美因素，认知因素，情感因素是评价影视榜样的重要依据。在英雄片和科幻片中，文本的社会相关性，观众的熟悉惯例，角色塑造技巧或科学知识的运用技巧是影响榜样的真实性的重要因素。至于榜样的有效性，两部电影存在一定的差异。在影片 "大决战" 中，正反面人物的结果性强化功能以权力与社会 认可为正强化 物对亲社会 行为产生非抑制效应，以惩罚为负强化物对反社会 行为产生抑制效应。这种区别性强化 功能阉割了强化 的情境性和偶合性，凭借道德与行 为结果的因果关系来实现道德价值的传播。由于这类影视在数量上占绝对优势，故而其强化 的频率与强度都很高。但是在科幻片 "侏罗纪公园" ，影视榜样通过制造无辜者与受害者对反社会 行为产生抑制性负强化 效应，因此这种强化 是一种非区别性强化。它强 调强化 偶合性，淡化 道德与行为结果的联系。虽然这类影片在数量上占少数，但由于其主题往往反映生与死的冲突，而且内容新颖，所以尽管频率低，强化 强度仍很高。

值得注意的是，就榜样学习而言，影视中的人物主要是向观众提供必要的价值知识。这些知识主要包括角色规范知识，替代性强化经验，以及行为与情境的偶合知识。这些知识是通过影视人物的角色替换，人物与人物之间， 人物与文本要素之间对立统一关系(即文本的深层结构)得以传播的。

本研究还表明，权威榜样对中国青少年价值观的形成有着非常重要的影响。它反映了中国文化的特点和符合青少年心理发展的需要。中国青少年认为最重要的价值是知识，社会成就，智慧与爱国主义。这一结果与李伯黍教授1992年的研究结果一致。

价值观与特定文化模式有着不可分割的联系。本研究通过对龙神话和帝王神化的分析发掘中华民族价值观的原型，并通过分析孔子的"内圣外王"思想和毛泽东的主要思想展现了价值观的发展及历史沿革。除此之外，本研究还对中美文化模式作了比较，以此说明榜样学习的文化因素。

作者认为，本研究的教育意义是引进影视榜样于德育课程之中。教师要向学生阐明影视榜样的构成因素与文本的三个维面特点，用课堂讨论的方法积极培养他们的分析和识别"虚构现实"和"现实"的能力，以此消除影视的负效应，增加正效应，促进青少年道德观的发展。

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PRESENTATION OF THE TOPIC

Film and television, as moral model providers (Bandura, 1986), have become the dominant vehicles for disseminating values. With their enormous information-carrying capacity they are playing an increasing role in transforming the nature and scope of human influences, and the way people live their lives. Thus they have vastly expanded the social and psychological range to the young. Data from a survey undertaken by the Motion Picture Association of America 1979 indicated that 49 percent of the film audience was under the age of 20 (Jowett & Linton, 1980, p.80). The author of China Daily (one popular newspaper in China) also noticed this phenomenon, and warned that "Chinese teenagers sink in TV cesspools" (China Daily Oct.30, 1992).

Films and television programs do appeal very much to teenagers, and influence their beliefs, values and personality by their powerful vicarious modelling functions. The powerful impact of movies and television attracts a lot of researchers. It is more generally agreed that much of the continued power of the movie and television derives from the remarkable status of characters (Handel, 1950; Koenigil, 1962; Jowett & Linton, 1980; Gunter, 1995). Research shows that children and adults learn both good and bad, correct and incorrect from the characters in the movies (Charters, 1933; Cantril & Allport, 1935; Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; ref. Shapiro & McDonald, 1995, p.326).

The topic of this study has been chosen for these reasons. Vicarious modelling has been studied extensively by social learning theorists (Bandura, 1963; 1969; 1973; 1986; 1997), but how a particular character in a movie works as a magic model to convince children to accept it remains unclear. This study tries to fill this gap. Furthermore, teaching by models has been an ancient and effective way of transmitting values and to maintaining the social order in China. As Munro noticed, in the Chinese culture people teach more by example than by exhortation (Munro, 1975, pp.333-352). That China is now experiencing a time of value transition has also been noticed. The growth of the economy, especially new ideas and values transmitted by movies and televisions, produce a great challenge to the traditional ideology and morality. Adults become confused by many moral issues, let alone children. It is hoped that this study will throw a light on how the parents and teachers can help

children develop critical attitudes and skills to reduce the negative impact of movies and television, and increase their positive influence.

The model of this study has been developed from a combination of Bandura's research and Berger's film semiotic study. The study is concerned with six issues. The first issue is how values and social conventions are communicated by characters and their related formulaic elements at the text level. The second issue is to discover the narrative structures (the Proppian functions and binary oppositions), which would influence the character to communicate values, and the narrative relationship between a character and modelling effect. The third issue is the narrative logic which a movie tries to achieve through the presentation of a "real", credible and efficient character. This issue actually concerns the premises for a character to be transformed into a visual model. The fourth issue is what function a character plays in vicarious learning. The fifth issue is the cultural factors defining a character. The sixth is the relationship between the present study and teaching. These issues actually cover the fields of film semiotics, psychology, sociology and education. Their resolution is based upon two steps: selecting the favourite movie preferred by the Chinese adolescents, and giving a narrative analysis of two movies at the three levels of text, structure and logic in order to find the relationship between narrative, values and society. Meanwhile, this study should offer some suggestions for using movie models in teaching.

Theoretically the terminology of the study is constructed from Bandura's experimental results of the model attributes of salience, prevalence, outcome effects and psychological needs which determine modelling behaviour in the attention subprocess (Bandura, 1986) and the semiotic research on plot structure (Propp, 1968), binary oppositions (Lévi-Strauss, 1967), formulaic elements (Cawelti, 1971) and the relations between the reality of a character with social relevance and audience familiarities, ie, genre conventionality (Berger, 1992; Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992). These essential concepts are applied to the analysis of the movies.

Methodologically a narrative approach is needed as this study concentrates on the narrative relationships between characters and visual models. Berger's approach is modified for the purpose (Berger, 1992).

In order to explore the deeper layers of values and narratives, it is also necessary to trace the cultural origin of the Chinese values presented back through the cultural heroes in myths and Confucius' works. This study briefly discusses how the archetype of value models and "social censures" was rooted in dragon myths, and has later been developed by Confucius and modern politicians into a nationwide belief, and in turn how it rationalizes a character and influences the visual model selection. In order to present an understandable description for Westerners, an anthropological and historical background, especially the social construction of the self through the cultural metaphor and the functions of the family and authentic life goals, should be explained. As the second movie is American science fiction, the discussion about the relationship between genre, character and culture should be emphasised. A cultural comparison focussing on narrative presentation is also necessary as the two movies were made in different countries.

The choice of the two movies is based on the data collected in 1994 from three classes of two schools in the south (N=152, average age, 15 years 8 months). One is a suburban school in Nanchang County. All the students are the seniors of suburban peasants. Another is a key school in the city of Guangzhou. I selected these two schools from the following considerations. First, it is a financial issue. The headmasters in the two schools gave me full support free of charge. Second, the Nanchang county, because of its location and other factors, is a relatively poor area. Guangzhou, however, with rapid economic growth, has become the richest metropolis of China. What I am concerned about is whether there are significant differences in the selection of movies and televised programs. The data show some real differences in preference tendencies, but both two groups of subjects give a very high value to the movie Three Decisive Campaigns and another heroic fiction, Zhou En-Lai. In this sense, traditional value models are still very appealing to teenagers. As for the second sample movie, Jurassic Park, it was exclusively selected by the subjects in Guangzhou. It is worth emphasizing that Jurassic Park is a favourite movie for the juniors, but not the seniors. Since it is an American movie, highly valued by most juniors, and of a different genre, I chose it to compare with the first. The two movies were chosen from 204 movies and televised fictions mentioned by the subjects. It is expected that studying them will give a relatively adequate account of the relationship between visual models, values and narrative characteristics.

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Issues concerning visual models, values and film narrative have attracted a lot of attention from multidisciplines. Scholarly studies have usually been centred on some specific aspects of these three areas (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992; Heiskanen & Airaksinen, 1979; Holland & Quinn, 1987; Berger, 1992; Bandura, 1986). Generally speaking, social learning theorists mainly concentrated on modelling behaviour and its social and cognitive determinants, neglecting the important function of the film narrative in which a particular visual model works (Bandura, 1969; 1973; 1986; 1997). By the same token, some film theorists, such as Lacan (1981) and Metz (1982), perhaps think that values and meaning presented in the film are beneath contempt as they are too obvious and simplistic to be worth study. They prefer to explore the deep meaning of a movie narrative to understand the human psyche. Little attention has thus been given to the issue of the relationships between visual models, the values they communicate and the semiotic factors from the multidisciplinary viewpoint of psychology, semiotics, sociology and culture.

My object in this study is

to clarify the important semiotic, social and psychological factors of the visual model which might influence value communication and to offer some suggestions for choosing movie and televised models for moral education.

To this end, this study should answer the following questions:

What are the constituents of the film narrative?
How do they work together in these two movies to construct value models from characters for viewers?
What are the social, semiotic and psychological characteristics which might effectively influence the value acceptance of teenagers?

The study considers the following main points:

1) Analysis of the formulaic elements of the text level, especially the main characters, in each movie and the values they communicate by means of the binary oppositions existing in the counter-events and counter-images throughout the formulaic elements.

2) Delineation of the binary structure beneath the twelve Proppian functions acted by main characters, and the relationships between these two narrative structures and value communication and modelling.
3) How the narrative logic works to convince viewers of the validity of a character as a visual model through the three premises of reality, rationality and efficacy.
4) The function of a character in vicarious learning and modelling.
5) Probing the cultural imprints from the means of presentation and film languages.
6) Offering suggestions for using visual models for moral education.

In addition, the genre differences concerning the three levels of text, structure and logic are described as the two movies are of disparate genres.

1.3 THE CLARIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF MODEL

1.3.1 WHAT ARE THE VISUAL MODEL, THE NARRATIVE, AND THE THREE CONSTITUENTS?

The Definition of the Visual Model. It should be emphasized that the concept "model" I use in the term visual or value model is different from those used by anthropologists (Holland & Quinn, 1987), and film semioticians (Propp, 1968; Nöth, 1990). The basis is the definition of the term "model", as it means different things from the various multidisciplinary viewpoints. In this study, the concept of "model" in the term visual model is directly borrowed from Bandura.

In Bandura's social learning theory, "model" is quite close to the concept of behavioural "example" which, presented in the form of a character, reflects particular social norms and demarcates a set of proper behaviours in various situations (Bandura & Walters, 1963, pp.49-52). According to the forms in which the models are presented, there are real-person models and symbolic models. Real-person models may be presented by parents, neighbours, peers and other members of society. "Symbolic models may be presented through oral or written instructions, pictorially, or through a combination of verbal and pictorial devices" (ibid.). Visual models are within the boundary of symbolic models. In this study they only refer to movie and television models in the audiovisual mass media. In many cultures, a wide variety of real-person and symbolic models, ranging from national heroes or villains to members of the immediate family and the society, have been used to foster prosocial values and behaviour. The visual models presented in the two movies, especially those in the Chinese movie, obviously serve that social purpose.

These considerations suggest the following definition:

Visual model in this study means the symbolic role representation which reflects certain social norms and moral values for directing proper behaviour, and which is fulfilled by characters, especially protagonists, in audiovisual displays, mainly through film and television. In this study visual model exclusively refers to movie models.

1.3.2 THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN VISUAL, NARRATIVE, AND CULTURAL MODELS

One conceptual clarification is necessary for a better understanding of the dissertation. Emphasis should be put upon the distinctions and connections between the visual model, the narrative model, and the cultural model since this study actually covers these three categories.

As distinct the visual model, which refers to the audiovisual role presentation in television and film, the narrative model is understood by a number of semioticians (Propp, 1968; Eco, 1979; Metz, 1982; Berger, 1992) as the immanent rules and structures underlying the narrative to logically and consistently conjoin two or more events into a whole by centring on a subject (Stam, Burgoyne and Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.69). Thus considered, the elements of narrative structure (model) can be mainly regarded as characters, plot patterning, point-of-view, setting, temporality, sequence of events, binary oppositions (ibid.). This study tries to find the binary oppositions underlying the formulaic elements, the order of actions (the Proppian functions, Propp, 1968) and their relations with value communication. The Proppian functions work as a kind of surface structure governing the movement of the narrative in communicating meaning. The formulas are the composite structure which constitutes the textual elements of the narrative in communicating meaning. The binary oppositions underlying the Proppian functions and the formulaic elements work as a kind of deep structure revealing meaning and values. These three kinds of narrative structure in a film work together to provide a sound narrative logic through the mutual cause-effect linkages of media, society and person in assessing the validity of the visual model on the levels of reality, rationality and efficacy. For modelling, it is the narrative logic which fundamentally influences the acceptance of and preference for the visual model. In other words, the narrative logic of film and television provides the narrative eviden-

ce and arguments for the viewers to construct their distinctions between the "real" model and the unreal, the rational and the irrational, the effective and the ineffective. The viewer's judgement of a good visual model is partially based upon this narrative logic.

Cultural anthropologists (White, 1987; Holland & Quinn, 1987) see culture as shared knowledge. They probe the way the cultural model organizes knowledge to accomplish human conceptual and pragmatic work. "Cultural models" in the anthropologists' eyes, are thus "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behaviour in it" (Holland & Quinn, 1987, p.4). In this sense, cultural models are the cultural conceptualizations of the world which are generalized as socially shared beliefs. They are the products of human thought, which are based upon enactive and symbolic experience, expressed mostly in the form of language, and reflect human epistemology. In turn, they "frame experience, supplying interpretations of that experience and inferences about it, and goals for action" (ibid., p.6).

Cultural models permeate a wide range of social practices and conceptual processes, from mental processes, emotional states, marital commitment, career choice, gender relations, and kinship obligations, to metaphors, myths, talk, fairy tales, proverbs. Language accounts for most of these. Thus the connections between visual models, narrative models and cultural models are obvious. Generally speaking, visual models and narrative models reflect a particular culture model in a given society. The behavioural rules and value standards in a visual model and the narrative structures underlying a narrative uncover the shared beliefs about the world in which the members of society live. This study is concerned with these three models in an attempt to give a relatively adequate explanation of value learning.

1.3.3 THE NARRATIVE AND THE THREE CONSTITUENTS OF A VISUAL MODEL

The question of what constitutes a narrative has attracted a number of theorists. The following definition synthesizes the major literature: "Narrative can be understood as the recounting of two or more events (or a situation and an event) that are logically connected, occur over time, and are linked by a con-

sistent subject into a whole" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.69). The three strata of a narrative are considered in this study:
1) The text. This includes the textual aspects of the formulaic elements and the sequences of events in the two movies.
2) The structures. These are plot patterns (the Proppian function), and binary oppositions underlying the previous elements and events.
3) The logic "that governs discourse whether or not it is transparently argumentative" (Schrag, 1991, p.313). The narrative logic in this study concerns the mutual cause-effect linkages of cultural, narrative and person in respect of reality, rationality and efficacy of characters.

Because visual models in film and television are created from these three strata of the narrative, and also because visual models represented by characters are the principal symbolizations of the narrative, these three strata thus determine the three constituents of the visual model. This study analyses these three levels in order to find how characters function as value models during viewing activity.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

I would like to use a story that my Finnish friend told me to begin this section.

One day, a Finn, a Frenchman and an American went hunting together. In the forest there was a fat reindeer eating leaves. When the Frenchman saw it, he said to himself, "What a nice dinner I will have with my wife! Candles, flowers, delicious reindeer meat ..." When the American saw it, he also said to himself, "How can I get my gun to shoot the reindeer before my friends do?" When the Finn saw it, he said, "I'd better calculate how many reindeers are left in the forest before I shoot it." If a Chinese were in that situation, I think he would ask himself, "Is it right or wrong to shoot a reindeer?"

This story makes at least three main points. First, all narratives have their constituent elements of structure, text and logic to convey meaning. The study of narratives should cover their relationship. Second, a narrative is a value tale, which transmits certain values important to a given society by providing the value model in the form of a character to readers. The study of the value model in a particular narrative should explain how the narrative presents the rationalizations for its characters, who live in a fictional world. The third point is the cultural difference which influences the values presented and their related narrative means. These points pertain to the three linkages of narrative, value models and culture. The two movies selected will be analysed from the four angles of psychology, semiotics, sociology, and culture.

My study concentrates on these issues. Chapter one is the introduction. Chapter two gives a general picture of the theories of value, both Chinese and foreign. It also provides a description of Bandura's modelling theory and Berger's semiotic approach, which I use as the theoretical and methodical basis of the study. Chapter three delineates how culture produces the archetype of values and facilitates social conventions and the shared values of its members. It also discusses how value has been changed as the society has developed. Chapter four covers the conceptual basis, method, sampling and the analytical procedures. Chapter five provides a detailed analysis of two movies at the text level. In this chapter the formulaic elements and their values are discussed in an attempt to explore how a character can function as a value model for viewers.

Chapter six concerns the relationship between the narrative structures of the Proppian functions and binary oppositions and value communication and modelling. Chapter seven considers the influence of the narrative logic on value acceptance in respect of reality, rationality and efficacy. The function of a character in value learning and the cultural differences presented in the narrative strategies and film languages of the two movies are discussed as well. Chapter eight presents the conclusions of the study, their educational significance, the pros and cons of Bandura's research, and the value characteristics of Chinese teenagers.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are several ways to study narratives, both in the written and visual forms. If we look at how a book or a movie is produced, we soon see why four research orientations have been developed (Nöth, 1990; Monaco, 1981; Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992). Books, movies and televised programs are first fictionalized by their authors, then produced by mediating agents like publishing houses and movie companies, and finally accepted by their audiences or readers. The research on them naturally divides into these four categories. Author-oriented research originally concerns the biographical relation between the text and the author, later shifts its focuses to the links between the ideological operation of a book or a movie and its author's epistemological status and social existence, represented by Marxist theorists (Sparks, 1992; Nöth, 1990), and to the psychoanalytic interpretation of the text with its authorial psycho-dynamic interplay of inner forces, as in Christian Metz (Metz, 1983; Lapsley & Westlake, 1996). Media-oriented research focuses on how media are used as an effective power player to maintain or change the social system, or on the "Auteur" to describe how a director contrasts his or her individually creative style with that of the "metteurs-en-scene" (Hietala, 1990; Nöth, 1990), the domain of directorial choices like lighting, sets, cameras, and so on (ibid.). Work-oriented research considers either structuralist narratology (Prop, 1968; Cawelti, 1971; Berger, 1992), or the linguistic background (Eco, 1979). Reception-oriented research emphasizes the importance of the audience's psychological needs, competence, expectations and experiences (Gerbner, 1970; 1982). In this sense, my study combines work-oriented and reception-oriented research. There is no doubt that this research limitation jeopardizes the adequacy of the study.

The sampling was all from the Han students living in Nanchang County in Jiangxi Province, located in the east area, and Guangzhou City in Guangdong province, located at the extreme south of the mainland. Han is the major nationality in China, accounting for 91.96 percent of the total population (Qin Shi, 1993, p.35). The result of the study thus need not be adequate to explain the values and modelling behaviours of all Chinese adolescents, nor for those of all Han teenagers, since China is a country with 56 nationalities and has considerable regional and subcultural differences between Hans. Recently much Chinese research has revealed that children of different nationalities show significant differences in values such as justice, patriotism, punishment and equality (Li Bo-shu, 1992, p.367).

Another limitation applies to the time when I collected the data. In 1994, when I went back to China, the Chinese government was promoting "a Patriotism Campaign". One hundred movies and televised programs were recommended to each school child, so that the selected movie samples may be influenced by this.

Finally, the study adopts a narrative analysis, because it is an accepted method of text investigation, particularly in the field of mass communications. Although this study pays special attention to the reliability of its measures and to the validity of its findings through the selective terminology of the concepts, its methodological basis is still more disputable and subjective. In this sense, some defects are inevitable.

However, this study is one of the few which focusses on the relationships between visual models, values, and narrative in the Chinese cultural context. Without doubt, any findings will assist future study.

2 RELEVANT PSYCHOLOGICAL AND FILM THEORIES OF VALUE

A large body of research in philosophy, psychology and semiotics has focussed on values. A general picture of this research is necessary to a better understanding. As this study is mainly based on the approach of social learning and the narrative studies of stories and films created by film theorists, much space is left to these two approaches.

2.1 THE GENERAL FIELD OF PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES ABOUT VALUE

Value has multiple meanings. In axiology, value has the most fundamental distinction: valuation, quality, and economic contexts (Heiskanen & Airaksinen, 1979, p.12). Value, "as a philosophical category, refers to a general need relationship between the subject and the object" (Li Lin-kun, 1990, p.6). Rokeach defined value as "an ending belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an oppositive or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (Rokeach 1973, p.5). The conception of value has been used widely in our daily life. An aesthetic value is reflected in opinions and judgement from an artistic viewpoint. A technological value concerns how effectively something operates. An economic value concerns matters of financial profit. Moral values concern matters of "good" or "bad", "right" or "wrong", "ought" and " should".

Historically philosophical conceptions of value changed over the centuries in the West from the image of the virtuous citizen in the Greek city-states, to compliance with God as the Ideal Moral Legislator, the Kantian philosophy of pure reason, to the utilitarian's ideas on social context that values must maximize the common good, the Marxist ideology and alienation, the Hobbesian notion of self-interest, and Rawlsian contractarian principles (Rokeach,1973; Feather 1975).

In China the conception of value has changed from Confucius' concept of "humanity" (ren) symbolized as a "sage-emperor", to the Taoist's "no action

that goes against nature" (wu wei), the later Confucianist, Dong Zhong-shu's notion of "the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues", Wan Bi's idea of "oppositive comparison", the Buddhist's "nirvana", Wan Tong's notion of "situation", Zhu Xi's "the rationality guiding nature and human ethical life" (li), Huang Zhong-xi's notion of "conscience", to Sun Yat-sen's "humanism", and Mao Ze-dong's proletarian "five loves" (Meng Xian-cheng et alii, 1980; Li De-shun, 1987). In essence, whether Western or Chinese, all philosophers tried to explain values by means of the relationship between "goodness and truth". The big difference, in a broad sense, is that most Westerners deduce goodness from truth; the Chinese deduce truth from goodness (for more details see Li De-shun, 1987, pp. 23-28).

Psychology, preoccupied with research and its understanding of values, has achieved much in psychodynamic, cognitive, behavioural, parent-child related, and social-biological determinants, etc. It covers a wide range of constructs such as Freudian "superego" (Freud, 1948), Loevinger's "the integration of ego" (Loevinger, 1982), Piaget's "cognitive schema of rules" (Piaget, 1948), Kohlberg's "moral judgement of justice" (Kohlberg, 1969), Gilligan's "caring" (Gilligan, 1982), Dawkins' "the evolutionary fitness of altruism" (Dawkins, 1989), Bowlby's "attachment" (Bowlby, 1982a), Skinner's "genetic endowment companying by environmental contingencies" (Skinner, 1953), and Bandura's "modelling" (Bandura, 1986).

In consideration of their wide use for the study of popular culture like novels, films and television shows, three approaches focussing on the relationships of values with identification, attachment and modelling will be discussed here.

2.2 IDENTIFICATION AND VALUES

Identification in the psychoanalytic theories is based upon an assumption that humans are driven by instinctual desire (libido), so that the superego, which is the internalization of social control, is necessary for human morality and behaviour.

A crucial experience for the superego is from the child's resolution of the Oedipus complex and Electra complex (Freud, 1948). Children in their early lives experience a mixture of love and hate for their parents for three reasons: their erotic striving for the parent of the other gender are inevitable and universal; they are still helpless and dependent; their parents must thwart the

children's self-interests and desire. Their only resolution is identification with the parent of the same gender, since their Oedipal and Electra attachments already make them guilty. In order to maintain family harmony, children identify especially with that parent's prohibitions. They conform to the parent's and society's expectations. Their superego, the core of values and morality, has thus been developed.

Psychoanalytic theory has provided the most widely-accepted explanation of the identification process in value-transmission. Accordingly, identification of a child with his or her parent results from the Oedipus or Electra complex in which the child adopts the characteristics of the like-sex parent to reduce anxiety over anticipated punishment by castration for his or her incestuous wishes towards his or her mother or father. Fear of punishment thus provides the primary incentive for a child to identify with his or her like-sex parent. Two kinds of identification were distinguished (Freud, 1925): anaclitic identification, occurring when the child "introjects" her or his mother's behaviour and values because of fearing to lose the feeding adult; and defensive identification for boys resulting from their Oedipus complex.

Several theorists have attempted reinterpretations of identification in terms of learning-theory concepts. Parallel to those outlined by Freud, Mowrer (1950, pp.573-615) describes two forms of identification: developmental and defensive, and focuses on the former in both his theoretical elaboration and his laboratory analogues. He contends that developmental identification occurs because the mother mediates the young child's biological and social rewards and thus her behaviour and attributes take on secondary reward value. Consequently, the child can administer positively conditioned reinforcers to himself simply by matching the mother as positive valence behaviour as closely as possible.

Sears (1957, pp.149-161) places most emphasis on anaclitic identification and regards a nurturant intention between a caretaking adult and a child as a necessary precondition of identification. Through this interaction the child learns to want and value his or her mother's presence and nurturant activities and acquires a dependency drive. But the consequent dependency frustration and insecurity concerning parental affection and approval leads the child to adopt the method of role practice as a means of reinstating the parental nurturant responses. Through role-playing in fantasy, the child can perform the

parent's role as nurturant acts himself or herself, and so vicariously obtains rewards. Thus identification becomes an acquired drive for which the satisfying goal response is acting like another person. Other studies on identification such as Erikson's "identity crisis" (1950) and Loevinger's "integration of ego" (1982) and so on, give a detailed description of how identification works in different situations.

Psychoanalytic theories try to explain human behaviour, thought and morality through the concept of "libido", which operates as psychic dynamic for any inner and visible human activity. The great contribution of these theories is their profound studies of human inner life, such as unconsciousness, dreams, impulse, guilty, the sense of sin and the power of other emotions, which throw light on psychopathology, arts, literature, movies and television shows especially.

The profound psychological effect of a work of art had been recognized in the early twentieth century, during the great age of psychoanalysis. Most psychological analysis centred on the connection between the artist and filmmaker and the work (Monaco, 1981). The work was seen as an index of the psychological state of its author, a sort of profound and very elaborate Rorschach test. In recent years more psychological and semiological attention has shifted to the connection between the work and its observer. Film-makers have used the motivating forces of these twin libidinal impulses, sex and violence, to sell fantasies in romance and action since the early days. The "daydream function" of movies satisfies our "libido" by giving a kind of life to fantasies, providing a person with the opportunity to fulfil the "Oedipal" or "Electra" complex by identification. Thus film is seen as an analogue to the viewer's "dream work", "unconscious fantasy", "hallucination" and "primal scene" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, pp.139-141, p.164). Such research, represented by Christian Metz (1982, p.129), explored the relation of intra-psychic elements to narratives by inventing the concepts of "cinematic apparatus" and "voyeurism". Arthur Asa Berger divided the three kinds of character in classic mysteries and crime shows by the three agents in the human psyche. In his book Popular Culture Genres, the detective represents the ego function because ego is connected with reason, with interpreting events in the world in order to maintain a balance between id and superego; the murderer is an id figure as he or she lacks restraint of his or her Oedipal and Electra complex; and the police, society, and so forth are representatives of the superego because they lack

intelligence (Berger, 1992, p.88). Value-transmission happened when the viewer identifies with the particular character in the movie or television show.

But the psychoanalytic analogue is unsatisfactory to many psychologists. It is criticised as "vague, arbitrary, and often contradictory" (Kohlberg, 1987, p.4). In my opinion this approach might not lend itself to study of Chinese heroic movies and literature. Although sex is one of the twins of "libido" and dominates in Western films, particularly in Hollywood movies, it is hardly a major topic in most Chinese heroic movies. In Chinese tradition, the erotic has been considered to cater for "inferior men" from Confucius' time. It cannot be shown in public or on screen. "A sage" should consider his duty as the first priority. In Mao's time, all arts concerned with sex, whether foreign or domestic, were criticized as pornographic and bourgeois. Sex was a strictly forbidden topic for artists. During the time of "the cultural revolution", there were only five Beijing operas and two ballets permitted. These seven works were censored by Mao's wife, and set up as the revolutionary examples for the arts. None of them had nothing to do with sex. All the heroes and heroines, whether young or old, were single. The only thing they cared about was the class struggle and proletarian cause. This is one of the important reasons why I do not choose psychoanalytic theory because the heroic movies account for the overwhelming majority in the sampling. Moreover, modelling has long been seen as a useful means to transmit knowledge and values in the Chinese cultural heritage. The Communist Party is comparable in this with its predecessors. The proletarian model of Lei Feng for both teenagers and adults during the years of sixties, seventies and eighties or the seven revolutionary works are just a few examples among many. Modelling has permeated the daily life of every Chinese. More details will be discussed later.

2.3 ATTACHMENT AND VALUES

Attachment has been traditionally viewed as an affectional bond between an infant and her or his parent (typically a mother). Adequate attachment relationships are beneficial because they provide the child with a secure home niche from which she or he can further explore the external environment. The founding father of this approach is John Bowlby, who was first to explore human characteristics and behaviour from an ethological viewpoint. According to Bowlby, to protect his or her physical and affectional needs for food and love, the child must develop certain attachment behaviour, like gestures and signals, which promotes and maintains proximity to the caretaker (Bowlby, 1969, p.182). Through such interactions, babies increasingly come to single out what response they should make, thus developing their attitude, values, and social behaviour. The baby's signals and responses are thus part of a biological ground for social development.

Attachment theory is based upon the assumption that the conceptions which individuals construct of themselves and of the world are functions of their earlier attachment bonds. This means that children regard the surrounding world as secure or dangerous according to what kind of emotional bond they hold. Hence the parent's role as an attachment figure in providing love and safety is very important for the child's intellectual, emotional and moral development, since the attachment figure seeks to satisfy the child's physical and ultimate needs such as food, love, safety, self-actualization, morality and identity.

Later studies have extended the definition of attachment beyond the mother-child dyad, and beyond the primary figures (parent or caregiver) to the secondary figures such as teachers, peers and other persons. Attachments occur at all ages and with other specific people in addition to the mother (Ainsworth, 1989). For examples, Krappmann and Oswald (1989) have used this approach in studying peer relations among ten-year-old students. Yli-Luoma used this theory to study the classroom climate as a predictor of logical thinking and reasoning (Yli-Luoma, 1990). The research on the primary and secondary figures might suggest to some theorists studying the link between the character relationship in different genres and the human interpersonal experience across the lifespan.

Frye (1957) made a distinguished contribution on literary structures and meanings. His conclusions that there are four basic genres of narrative were drawn from the study of several hundred literary works. They include romance, comedy, tragedy and ironic works. These were brought to the attention of some psychologists, such as Murray (1985, pp.173-188), Gergen and Gergen (1988, pp.17-56) and Heymans (1992, pp.33-51), in studying the life values implicit in the personal relationships in the narratives of these four genres from the life-long view of development. Heymans argued that the narrative structure of romance encompasses eight major developmental tasks manifesting themselves in "eight life crises" at various times of life, as Erikson stated. The narrative of tragedy, which is the core of Levinson's theory, is concerned with adult development. The ironic narratives deal with the life issues and conflicts from sixteen to fifty years old. The comic life stories are more closely related to attachment theory. The situations stressing various affinities (e.g. a mother-child bond, peer friendship, love relationship) are important for learning the special skills and values (Heymans, 1992, pp.41-42).

2.4 MODELLING AND VALUES

The behaviouristic approach is considered one of the three main approaches to studying intercultural communication (Sitaram, 1995, p.5). This late behaviourism, in the name of social learning theory, has departed from the early radical behaviourism of Skinner in a number of significant ways (Bandura, 1986, p.12), but retains some of the assumptions that behaviour is partially dependant on the frequency and immediacy of the stimulus and the unique history of reinforcement.

Social learning theorists contend that values and behaviour are learned by the interaction of environment, behaviour and personal characteristics (Bowers, 1973; Endler & Magnusson, 1976; Pervin & Lewis, 1978; Rosenthal & Zimmerman, 1978; Bandura, 1986). Learning, from Bandura's viewpoint, consists of enactive learning and vicarious learning. The latter is vital to humans since they create symbols with their highly developed symbolizing capacity, which provides a powerful means of altering and adapting to their symbolic environment. Vicarious learning is a kind of symbolic modelling process. In Bandura's words, modelling was first defined as "imitation", then changed to a "generic term used to characterize the psychologically matching process" (Bandura, 1986, p.48). According to the forms in which models are presented, there are behavioural, verbal, and symbolic modelling (Bandura, 1986). Symbolic modelling, transmitted by books, computers, and especially by mass media, is the main conveyer of values, thought and behaviour in the modern telecommunications society. There is extensive evidence of the role of the modelling process in the acquisition of behaviour, values and belief. In order to understand how modelling works we need a general view of Bandura's theory.

Bandura began his studies on imitative behaviour created by model effects in the 1960s. His early studies were centred on the relationships among imitations, model effects, reinforcement, and self-control by social demands. The imitative behaviour in vicarious learning mostly depends on the function of the model effects, reinforcement and self-control system of the viewer. His research, covering human social behaviour like aggression, dependency and sexual behaviour, reveals that reinforcement patterns not only play an important role in the shaping and maintenance of prosocial and deviant patterns of

response, but also facilitates the development of a self-control system in the modelling process (Bandura & Walters, 1963, Bandura, 1969).

Bandura's middle theory, which underwent several critical modifications, emerged from the rapid development of cognitive research in the multidisciplines at the turn of the 70s. The most important modification was that he shifted his early, superficial studies of external social variables and their reinforcement to the deeper cognitive determinants which influence modelling. He pointed out that "Human functioning relies on three regulatory systems. They include antecedent inducements, response feedback influences, and cognitive processes that guide and regulate action" (Bandura, 1973, p.44). In so doing he replaced the concept of "imitation" by "modelling", to emphasize human thinking mechanisms. He conducted an enriched study of the function of direct, symbolic and self- reinforcement mechanisms upon the viewer's outcome expectancies, paying attention to the influence of human self-control and self-directed mechanism on modelling.

Bandura's theory has undergone a new development since the middle of the 80s. Recognizing that the former label was too narrow to encompass all determinants of modelling, he relabelled his theory "social cognitive theory" from "social theory" in order to emphasize the cognitive determinants. He stressed that "The social portion of the terminology acknowledges the social origins of much human thought and action; the cognitive portion recognizes the influential causal contribution of thought processes to human motivation, affect, and action" (Bandura, 1986, p.xii). Thus his later theory "embraces an interactional model of causation in which environmental events, personal factors, and behaviour all operate as interacting determinants of each other" (ibid. p. 12). This "triadic reciprocal causation" better explains why people can exercise some control over their destinies and are sometimes thwarted by the limits of self-direction as well. Moreover, the later theory presented the main research on symbolic models established by the mass media (Bandura, 1986) and cognitive studies of the relationship between modelling and self-efficacy belief (Bandura, 1997). Thus his theory, developed through three stages, takes the three sources of modelling as its main concerns: that is, the social, cognitive and behavioural sources. The social source focuses on social inducements such as social ideology, system, organization, law and rules. The cognitive source considers the function of thinking, especially self-regulation and self-efficacy anticipation. The behavioural source emphasizes the enactive and vicarious learning experience of behaviour and the reinforcement history of

these two kinds of learning. The following section will discuss the part of his modelling research relevant to my study.

2.4.1 THE FIVE EFFECTS OF MODELLING AND ATTRIBUTES OF MODELS

Bandura derives five effects of modelling (Bandura, 1986) from extensive study on the function of modelling upon behaviour and thought. Observational learning effects mean that modelling principally affects the viewer's value, thinking and behaviour through the acquisition of information and generative rules. Through observing the models presented by a real person, verbal descriptions and symbols, the viewer can satisfy his or her cognitive need for knowledge. This cognitive character psychologically determines the cognitive attributes of effective models. Inhibitory and disinhibitory effects mean that modelling depends on whether its reinforcing outcome is an inhibitor or disinhibitor of the viewer. This characteristic explains how the efficacy of the model is largely influenced by its reward and punishment outcome. Response facilitation effects mean that some models with no informational and reinforcing attributes still can influence the viewer's thinking and behaviour by having sufficient inducement from the custom, habits and conventions of a given society. "The types of models that prevail within a social milieu partly determine which qualities, from among many alternatives, are selectively activated" (Bandura, 1986, p.50). Response facilitation effects explain the importance of social prevalence for an effective model. Environmental enhancement effects mean that modelling can enhance the environment by directing the viewer's attention to the eliciting contexts. Through observing the models, the viewer can learn proper thought and behaviour in various situations. Arousal effects mean that modelling can influence the viewer by its affective arousal. This characteristic explains the importance of affective and aesthetic valences for an effective model. Because modelling has these five effects on cognition, behaviour, environment and affection, Bandura defined seven attributes of the model which influence the exploration and control of what is modelled. These are salience, affective valence, complexity, prevalence, accessibility and function value (outcome reinforcement). Salient models can attract the viewers' attention and facilitate adoption of the behaviour modelled (Bandura, 1986, p.51). The complexity of modelled events helps viewers extract the generative rules from many irrelevant aspects, and facilitate abstract thinking. Prevalence means that models should be relevant to the concerned society. Affective valences demand models of aesthetic values and emotion-aroused

function. Functional values that influence the efficacy model are defined by the reinforcing results of actions. This is so because "Given the choice, people are more likely to select models who are proficient at producing good outcomes than those who repeatedly get punished" (ibid. pp.53-54). Accessibility means the opportunities for a viewer to model the action in terms of gender, social status, competence and so on. These attributes, proved by Bandura's experimental tests, provide me with a sound basis for constructing a terminology concerning the three narrative criteria of reality, rationality and efficacy for an effective visual model. Most of them are directly used as the important concepts for the analysis of the two movies.

2.5 CRITICISM OF BANDURA'S WORK

Bandura's social cognitive theory, which emphasizes the importance of social context, reinforcement, and personal cognitive factors in mediating the processes of both enactive and vicarious learning, and in modifying and maintaining behaviour, provides us with a proper approach to human values and behaviour. His achievements in observational learning from his rich laboratory and field studies have practical significance for our telecommunications world.

But, as he admitted, modelling is such a complex phenomenon that a full picture requires "delving into multidisciplinary research bearing on a wide range of psycho-social phenomena" (Bandura, 1986, p. xii). Bandura's theory has certainly not gone unchallenged. The main drawbacks are discussed in the following section.

2.5.1 COMPLEX VS. SIMPLE NARRATIVE MODELS

To some extent, Bandura's studies of modelling in vicarious learning are arbitrary. The televised models presented to children in his studies could not provide a full understanding of the models presented in the movies and television programs because they lack complex narrative context. For example, in the Bobo Clown experiment on children's aggressive behaviour (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963a), they used a simple narrative model by presenting an image of an adult woman hitting a doll in a sitcom. From the imitative behaviour of the little children, they drew conclusions about modelling effects on hitting behaviour. Actually this kind of model is not as the same as those

in real life and in the dramas, because both the real-life models and movie models function in a complicated context. Real-life models exemplified by parents, peers, teachers, and so on work in a social context characterized by multiple social relationships and ethical principles. By the same token, the models presented in the movies, stories and television work in a context characterized by complicated narrative relationships between the models themselves and models with settings, conflicts, plots, outcomes, etc. Obviously the models used in Bandura's experiments are artificial and isolated. If they have effects on little children's modelling learning and skill learning, as Bandura and his colleagues have claimed, it is still hard to say that they must affect the values and moral behaviour of adolescents and adults, since there are considerable differences in brain maturity, thinking and value standards between them (Piaget, 1948; Erikson, 1950; Kohlberg, 1969). Televised and film models show that an important aspect neglected by Bandura in the viewing process is the narrative power of models. The fictional models we watch, in and about our lives, have significant power to shape the forms and values of our life because they convince us of their rationalizations through their virtual reality, outcome efficacy and editing grammar, as well as formulaic elements, plot patterns and binary oppositions. In this sense, MacIntyre (1981) asserts that "Man is in his actions and practice, as well as in his fictions, essentially a storytelling animal" (cited in Schrag, 1991, p.31). An adequate theory of modelling learning should thus give a sound account of the narrative means which would influence the conveyance of meaning and values.

2.5.2 ENTERTAINER AND KNOWER VS. VICARIOUS LEARNER

Television and the cinema have become an enormously popular pastime and entertainment. People watch them without any special training and effort. Even children at a very early age can more or less grasp the basic content of a film or television program. But it would take Chinese children at least several years' hard work at reading and writing before they could read a story or novel.

Almost every normal person can appreciate a film or television program although people with more education and great experience of them can see and hear more than people with less education and experience. Sometimes television and movies are quite passively consumed when people are tired, when they want to be allowed their own reveries. Many people watch television

every day at a certain time, preferring certain programs, just as we eat every day and like particular foods. In this sense viewing, like other routine activities, may often not be as very strongly directly motivated as any learning is. Thus viewing film and television is different from learning reading, writing and some other skills.

But film and television are general communication media which are available to large numbers of people. Walter Benjamin wrote that "Its social significance, particularly in its most positive form, is inconceivable without its destructive and cathartic aspect, that is, the liquidation of the traditional value of the cultural heritage" (Benjamin, 1970, p.221). Richard Sparks argues that "The idea of *mass communication* both encodes a dismissive elite valuation and a self-actualizing tendency in practice, namely the superimposition upon the reality of technologies of multiple transmission to an indefinitely large audience of the idea of *mass*" (Sparks, 1992, p.67). In the sense of transmitting information about "social censures", values, skills, ideas and behaviour, viewing then is really a kind of "vicarious learning" as Bandura claims. The difference between these two kinds of learning is that vicarious learning occurring in the film and television viewing process is more interest-directed, emotion-aroused, sociopolitically-directed, culturally conventional and less intentioned. Moreover, in the film and television viewing learning process the learner knows more about narratives, plots, characters, values, and genres from his or her own viewing experience (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992). They not only know a set of possibilities but also know a set of impossibilities for plot combinations, narrative structures, characters' rationality, reality, and outcomes. They expect certain rules to be employed for certain characters. If they find the character violates these rules, they will consider it unreal and improper. Such a model has little functional valence in model learning (Bandura, 1986, pp.297-324).

2.5.3 FILM LANGUAGE VS. WRITTEN LANGUAGE

Apart from dialogues, words and music, film and television use images exclusively to convey meaning. Film and television are not like written language because they are composed of shots, signs, and images which are different from words composed of alphabets or radicals and parts (characters). The most obvious difference between an image and a vocabulary is that an image is a mimetic reality. An image of a book is much closer to a real book than the word book. Second, for semioticians, a sign must consist of the signi-

fier and the signified. The word "book", for example, is a signifier as it is a collection of letters or radicals or sounds. It is also a signified when it represents a certain book and defines fixed meaning. But in film and television, as James Monaco (Monaco, 1981, p.127) notices, "the signifier and the signified are almost identical: the sign of the cinema is a short-circuited sign." In this sense, "film language has changed the understanding of any messages, because it has given us a new dramaturgical understanding with its ubiquitous cuts, brief episodes, foreshadows and rhythmically changing points of view" (Nurmi, 1992, p.97). Third, the syntax of film language deals with space and time rather than the order which usually applies to written language. Thus "action-reaction" linkage constructs the whole fiction from the combination of two and more shots to the sequences (Arijon, 1976, pp.7-10), the typical example being montage. These characteristics are vital to the communication of meanings.

Film is thus like a language in the most important aspect of conveying meanings and values. Shots and images are even more powerful than ordinary languages in expressing values because of their mimesis of reality. In a movie or televised fiction, any shot has its value valence and meaning like any word. Eisenstein compares a shot to a word and a "montage-phrase" to a sentence (Eisenstein, 1957). Influenced by the Eastern culture, he discusses the function of montage on the communication of meaning, comparing montage to the combination of "depictable hieroglyphs" into "undepictable ideograms" in Chinese writing (Eisenstein, 1957; cf. Nöth, 1990, p.464). Furthermore, an image in a film or television is interpreted differently in different contexts and by different people. An image also has cultural difference. A dragon appearing to a Chinese in a movie or television program means something different for a Westerner. The Chinese will naturally link it with Heaven, holiness, authority and supernatural force. But a Chinese may not be aware that a red rose appearing in the film of Richard III is a symbol of the house of Lancaster without knowing the history of Great Britain.

Obviously any study of film and televised models should be concerned about how and in what context the shots and images are presented, and explain their relationships to the meanings transmitted. However, Bandura's research neglected these aspects. My study will take these factors into account in order to supplement his theory.

2.5.4 NARRATIVE REINFORCEMENT VS. INCENTIVE REINFORCEMENT

It is necessary to specify two kinds of vicarious reinforcement in viewing activity. The first is the vicarious reinforcement presented in films or television programs. It is a fictitious one which, in verbal, pictorial and sound-symbolic form, is fictionalized intentionally by the dramatist and director as that part of the drama and models expressing their values. The second kind is the vicarious reinforcement which functions as a medium between the viewer's modelling behaviour and the value models presented, that is, it stimulates the viewer to respond a behaviour similar to that of the value model. Such reinforcement is not the same as the former because it has been changed in the viewer's cognitive scheme. Accordingly, the former is the basis and precondition for the latter. Before it is transferred into a functioning reinforcement in the psychological process of the viewer, it has no value-valence for the viewer, only for the author. I define this kind of reinforcement as narrative reinforcement. I define the latter as incentive reinforcement, since it acts as a vicarious incentive to modelling behaviour in the viewing activity. How the vicarious narrative reinforcement is transferred into incentive reinforcement is a very complicated psychological process. It is determined by the content, structure and function of the televised models and the physical and psychosocial characteristics of the viewer, as well as the environmental inducements. My present research only focuses on the vicarious narrative reinforcement shown in the Chinese adolescents' preferred movies and television programs. However, Bandura did not make such a distinction, confusing these two kinds of reinforcement. Most of his study is actually directed to the function of incentive reinforcement upon the viewer's modelling behaviour. His concept of vicarious reinforcement is thus somewhat confusing.

2.6 FILM SEMIOTICS

In this section, some relevant semiotic theories will be discussed. Particular attention will be paid to the narratological research on both structure and text, such as the Proppian plot pattern, de Saussure's and Lévi-Strauss' binary oppositions, Berger's formulaic elements and cinematic reality.

2.6.1 A HISTORICAL VIEW OF FILM SEMIOTICS

Semiotics is a discipline of studying signs, signification, and signifying systems for the sake of revealing the shaping importance of language in human life and thought (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.1). It can trace its origins back to the Greek philosophical tradition of speculation concerned with relation between words and things. Aristotle's treatise On Interpretation defines "words as *significant sounds* (phone semantike) and argues that spoken words are symbols or signs of affections or impressions of the soul" (ibid. p.2). Debate on the meaning in the concept of realism then dominated the classical period.

In Todorov's opinion (Todorov, 1977), the first rigorous semiotician was Saint August, who divided linguistic signs into three categories: insignias, gestures and ostensive signs. Other influential research on linguistics owes much to the logicians of the Vienna school, such as Rudolf Carnap who used the term metalinguistics to "refer the overall relation of the linguistic system to other systems of signs with a culture" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.3).

The modern founders of semiotics are the American philosopher Charles Sander Peirce (1839-1914) and the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). De Saussure founded the science of "semiology" to study the constitution of signs and the laws which govern them, while Peirce founded the science of "semiotics" to study how language constitutes the human being (Peirce, 1931; Saussure, 1966). Peirce made a number of contribution in film semiotics. He defined the sign from the point of view of human symbolic capacity, and created the concepts of the iconic sign, the indexical sign and the symbolic sign in order to find the triadic relations between the sign, its object and its interpretant in the process of semiosis, the process of producing meaning. For de Saussure, the sign is seen as "the union of a form which signifies - the signifier - and an idea signified - the signified" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.8). "The

perceptible aspect of the sign is the signifier; the absent mental representation by it is the signified, and the relationship between the two is the signification" (ib-id.). According to de Saussure, there are two fundamental types of relationships, paradigmatic and syntagmatic, which govern the binding of the signs into a complete linguistic system in a given culture (Saussure, 1966).

Another important source for contemporary semiotics is Russian formalism, flourishing from 1915 into the 1930s. The leading figure is Roman Jakobson. The formalists are concerned with literature's "immanent" properties, its structures and systems, which they call "literariness". Those studies constituted the founding principle of modern structural linguistics, and promoted a flourish of film semiotics (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, pp.9-22).

In the field of film semiotics, Peters (1950) is the first semiotician who considers film language as a system of iconic signs. One of the methodological success stories in semiotics is the structuralist approach, which became accepted in the 1960s. In the wake of the pioneers of the Russian folktale theorist Vladimir Propp (1968) and especially the French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1967), structuralism has been developed by such influential advocates as Roland Barthes (1967b), Christian Metz (1982), Tzvetan Todorov (1977), Umberto Eco (1976) and Gerard Genette (1970).

Another branch of film semiotics is the Marxist structuralist approach originating with the political and cultural upheaval of the 1960s in France. A key figure in these developments was Louis Althusser (1970), who used the term "ideology", the unconscious, structured system of a society, to illustrate how the dominant class appeals to ideology to manipulate the minds of a society's members by providing the general conceptual framework, and thus furthering the economic and political interests of that class (Nöth, 1990).

Post-structuralism began in the late 1960s, and is typically known as Derridean deconstruction. These theorists, along with Jacques Derrida, are considered to include such figures as Foucault, Lacan, Kristeva and the later Barthes. Their common interest centres upon "the powers of linguistic and textual dissemination, i.e. the process of semantic slippage by which signs move ceaselessly outwards into unpredictably novel contexts of meaning" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.23). They maintain that there is no possibility of stable signs, and a unified subject, only "difference". The root of

this point is Saussure's theory of the sign and structuralism, according to which a sign gets meaning only by its difference from the other signs of the system. The main idea of this approach is that the generative movement resulted from the passive effect of "difference" while the active process of "difference" makes "interpretation a semantic process of infinite regression...This is why the text, the network of these traces, can have no ultimate meaning" (Nöth, 1990, p.306).

The third branch of film structuralist semiotics is psychoanalytic theory deriving from Freud and Saussure. This approach, represented by Lacan and Metz, shifts its interest to "a systematic comparison of the cinema as specific kind of spectacle and the structure of the socially and psychologically constituted individual" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.123). Along with the former, these theorists, whose topics mainly refer to dream, fantasy, voyeurism, fetishism, and the principles of metaphor and metonymy in film, have contributed to film semiotics emerging as a powerful and comprehensive discipline in recent decades (ibid., pp.123-142). More details of the relevant theories will be presented in the following.

2.6.2 THE NARRATIVE

Narrative emerges in a wide variety of forms in every culture, and has attracted many thinkers throughout human history. In the discussion that follows, narrative is mainly seen from the viewpoints of Propp, Saussure and Lévi-Strauss, and Berger because their main concepts will be used in my study.

The Definition of Narrative. Narrative can be defined as "the recounting of two or more events (or a situation and event) that are logically connected, occur over time, and are linked by a consistent subject into a whole" (Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.69). Different theorists emphasize different constituents of narrative. Among plenty of studies, structuralist narratology predominates the field, extending from literature to film, in an attempt to discover a grammar and some common laws which involve the establishment of the units of a particular narrative. The most important contributions to our understanding of narrative derive from the research on the plot pattern and binary oppositions by Propp and de Saussure and Lévi-Strauss (ibid., pp. 76-82).

The Proppian Plot Pattern. Vladimir Propp devoted himself to analysing a collection of one hundred Russian folktales and offered us certain fundamental narrative components such as the role of a hero, irrespective of variations in

setting, character and plot. In Morphology of the Folktale (1968), he dismissed classifying fairy tales in terms of categories or themes, defining thirty-one functions of characters, and thus moving from the content to the narrative form. Proppian functions involve a series of different actions that characters may perform. He emphasized that "functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled" (Propp, 1968, p.20). The list of the thirty-one functions must be presented at this point as I shall need them further on in the analysis of the plot structures in the two movies for the communication of values. Propp also gave each function a symbol and summarized the contents of each tale by a string of symbols, but I omit these here. Hence, I shall refer to these functions in this study by the sign pf.+number. Propp's thirty-one functions are:

1. Absentation. One of the members of the family absents himself.
2. Interdiction. An interdiction is addressed to the hero.
3. Violation. The interdiction is violated.
4. Reconnaissance. The villain makes an attempt to get information.
5. Delivery. The villain gets information about his victim.
6. Trickery. The villain tries to deceive his victim.
7. Complicity. The victim is deceived.
8. Villainy. The villain causes harm to a member of a family.

8a. Lack. This member of the family lacks something, desires something.

9. Mediation. Misfortune made known, a hero is dispatched.
10. Counteraction. The hero (seeker) agrees to, decides on counteraction.
11. Departure. The hero leaves home.
12. 1st Donor Function. The hero is tested, receives magical agent or helper.
13. Hero's Reaction. The hero reacts to agent or donor.
14. Receipt of Agent. The hero acquires the use of a magical agent.
15. Spacial Change. The hero led to the object of a search.
16. Struggle. Hero and Villain join in direct combat.
17. Branding. The hero is branded.
18. Victory. The villain is defeated.
19. Liquidation. Initial misfortune or lack is liquidated.
20. Return. The hero returns.
21. Pursuit, Chase. The hero is pursued.
22. Rescue. The hero is rescued from pursuit.
23. Unrecognized Arrival. The hero, unrecognized, arrives home or elsewhere.
24. Unfounded Claims. False hero presents unfounded claims.

25. Difficult Task. A difficult task is proposed to the hero.
26. Solution. The task is resolved.
27. Recognition. The hero is recognized.
28. Exposure. The false hero or villain is exposed.
29. Transfiguration. The hero is given a new appearance.
30. Punishment. The villain is punished.
31. Wedding. The hero is married, ascends the throne.

It should be noted that many of these functions have some variations and reversions which may complicate the plot. Furthermore, these thirty-one functions are distributed among seven spheres of actions, which may be performed by various characters: the villain, the donor, the helper, the sought-for person, the dispatcher, the hero and the false hero. (Propp, 1968, pp.26-64)

Genre. The etymology of "genre" is French and means "kind" (or gender). Genres, almost invariably refer to "a group of literary works with common defining characteristics and major formal, technical or even thematic elements that unite groups of works" (Clute and Nicholls, 1995, p.15). Genre is one of the concerns of film theorists because it is used in structuring narration. Although the genre approach has frequently been attacked for its imprecise terms and its methods of unclear categorization, it provides a better understanding of the relationship of texts to each other in terms of form and content. It also explains how genres shape audience expectations of certain kinds of films and television shows by genre conventions. Some film theorists, like Leo Braudy, pay special attention to the powerfully social impact of genre films on their audience by converting the audience into a unified cultural force through their popularity and familiarity (ref. Nöth, 1990). Robert Warshow gave special attention to the conventional style of the hero in the American western in fulfilling audience expectations (ibid.). John Cawelti devoted himself to detective films and focused upon the historical evolution of the codes of a particular genre from its roots. He defined these codes as formula, "a conventional system for structuring cultural products" (Cawelti, 1971, p.29). Berger combined Cawelti's conception of formula with the Proppian plot pattern and de Saussure's and Lévi-Strauss' binary opposition to study different film genres at the levels of structure and text in transmitting values and meanings (Berger, 1992). In this study, Berger's approach is used to analyse how the visual model is built as a value conveyer in two movies. Berger's approach will be discussed later.

Binary Oppositions. In semiotics the concept of binary opposition may be

traced to de Saussure's concept of "difference". De Saussure found the binary structure characteristic of linguistic relationships (Saussure, 1966), but it was French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss who tried to reveal the deep structure of North and South American Indian myths in terms of the logic of binary oppositions existing latently in the narrative elements. For Lévi-Strauss, the formula for exploring the deep structure of myth can be seen as "A is to non-A as B is to non-A" (Lévi-Strauss, 1967; ref. Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.76). This pattern is considered as a binary system articulating "the logical and social contradiction which formed the myth's fundamental subject" (ibid. pp.76-77). Lévi-Strauss maintained that "mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions towards their resolution" (Lévi-Strauss, 1967, ref. Nöth, 1990, p.376).

Under Lévi-Strauss's influence, Will Wright (1975) made the first attempt to use the conception of binary opposition in the analysis of the relationship between genre and values in American westerns. In Sixguns and Society, Wright found that genre transmitted a clear set of values to society by the patterns of binary oppositions which constituted the semantic universe of the westerns. These binary oppositions mainly include wildness vs. civilization, inside vs. outside, strong vs. weak (Wright, 1975, ref. Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992, p.77). These recur throughout the generic elements. Jim Kitses used a similar antinomic approach to define some structural oppositions in American westerns. The basic binary elements which formed the semantic universe of the genre included wildness vs. civilization, the individual vs. community, and nature vs. culture. These basic binary elements are also "supported by subsidiary oppositions, which have a wide range of variation...these variations are used to distinguish the work of one auteur from another" (Nöth, 1990, p.77). Berger also focussed upon the binary relationship in formulaic elements used to transmit values in an attempt to identify some structural characteristics of genre in detective films (Berger, 1992). Besides, other theorists such as Metz, concentrated on the formal oppositions utilized in editing and framing (Metz, 1982).

2.6.3 BERGER'S MODIFIED APPROACH

Berger developed Cawelti's "formulas" by combining them with the Proppian plot pattern and de Saussure's and Lévi-Strauss' binary oppositions. Although Berger's main purpose is to conceal the generic features in American detective and science fiction, his concern for narrative's capacity to transmit values by its

"hard" and "soft" aspects (structure and text) through light on how I worked in my study.

Berger applies the Proppian approach to the "hard" aspects of the narrative to reveal the narrative relevance of the Russian fairy tales, modern American spy fiction, and science-fiction films by focussing upon the opposite functions (actions) between characters, particularly heroes and villains. He emphasized that "concepts gain their meaning by relationships" (Berger, 1992, p.19). People acquire meaning only when they interpret actions by particular characters in terms of counter-actions by opposing characters. He found that the logic which was used to construct narratives has not varied greatly over the centuries, and that a specific genre satisfies certain psychological needs in the life cycle, as we face particular psychological challenges at different stages. One of the important reasons that people make use of media is to get gratification. For teenagers, the main need for gratification is "finding models to imitate" (ibid. p.67), and drama and sports on the mass media serve this purpose.

As to "soft" aspects, Berger is concerned with the meaning communicated by the polar oppositions throughout the "formulaic elements", and with the generic characteristics which enhance audience understanding of the way that texts function and the way they relate to each other, the media, and the society. "Formulaic elements" are the "conventions" used in structuring the text. These involve the following aspects: time, location, heroes, heroines, villains, secondary characters, plots, themes, costume, locomotion and weaponry (Berger, 1992, pp.29-329).

In my study, Berger's model is used to explore how the narratives of the two movies affect our interpreting meaning and values through their structural and textual logic and rules in terms of binary oppositions when we experience the vicarious learning derived from watching certain television programs and films. Another concern of the study is to find the relationship between the narrative logic of both structure and text with its relevant cultural model. A description of how to use Berger's model is provided in Chapter four.

2.7 THE RELEVANCE OF BANDURA'S WORK AND BERGER'S APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE CHINESE CASE

Why is the model of my study drawn from Bandura's and Berger's studies? This section offers arguments for their relevance to the study of Chinese culture.

2.7.1 MODELLING AND VALUES: An Ancient Chinese Issue

In Chinese culture modelling has long been considered an effective way of teaching and transmitting moral values. The classic works or children's books or folk stories, in essence, are a kind of model-providing book. In the Analects the great sage-emperors Huang, Yao, Shun, Yu and Zhou are mentioned nine times as good examples for rulers. One popular child's primer named Qian Zi Wen only has a thousand words and has been used since AD 500, but cites 45 models ranging across the greatest sages in history. Confucius as a great philosopher and educationist taught his students by means of real-life models and vicarious models. He advocated that teachers and parents should set good examples in morality for children. He asked, "If teachers and parents cannot be correct in behaviour, how can they rectify the behaviour of children?" (Analects: Zi Lu). He stressed that "examples are more important for teaching than exhortation" (ibid.). Since then "teach by example" has been seen as a golden rule for educationists. In this sense Chinese culture is a kind of modelling culture. Many western scholars such as Munro and Bandura have mentioned this phenomenon in their books (Munro, 1975, Bandura 1973). Bandura states that "It is evident from informal observation that human behaviour is to a large extent socially transmitted, either deliberately or inadvertently, through the behavioural examples provided by influential models. Indeed, as Richard (1938) noted, in many languages *the word teach* is the same as *the word for show*" (ref. Bandura, 1973, p.68). Another scholar Hsu hypothesized "three principles of social phenomena" stressed by the Confucian school having studied many their works. One of them is the "process of phenomenal imitation" (Hsu, 1975, pp.44-45). This process has the function of continuity and productivity of social behaviour, ideology and values. In Confucius' opinion, whether goodness or badness will prevail depends largely on the nature of the model. A good model will promote moral behaviour and quality. By the same

token, a bad model will promote immoral behaviour. "Hence the importance of selecting the model cannot be overemphasized" in Chinese society (ibid. p.44).

Many models in the Chinese literature are of the political elite, emperors accounting for the overwhelming majority (Fan Wen-lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978). This literature bias comes from the Confucianist tradition. According to this philosophy, "the king is the model for the nation and so the people are likely to imitate him" (Hsu, 1975, p.78). In the classics, the ideal king is a sage-emperor. The sixteen virtues are prescribed. The king model has had a considerable impact on Chinese values, ways of thinking, and personalities. These national characteristics are the products of monarch-model culture, and also function effectively in model matching. Any studies of Chinese values thus cannot overlook the impact of authority models. Another feature is that external reinforcers and self-reinforcers both act as important determinants for modelling behaviour as Bandura has claimed. The typical external reinforcers are power and sovereignty, which are the basis of arousing kong yan le chu[1], a peak positive emotional experience for his moral perfection, as well as being materialized and actualized forms of morality (Meng Wan-jin, 1992, pp73-76). In chapter three a detailed description is provided. Third, Confucian arguments on modelling steps, methods, environmental influences, affective functions and self-regulation (Guo Qi-jia, 1987) have been experimentally studied by Bandura (Bandura, & Waters, 1963; Bandura, 1969, 1973, 1986, 1996). Last, the social behaviouristic approach is one of the main approaches to studying media communication (Sitaram, 1995, p.5), and my study is concerned with how media relate to moral education by providing visual models to their viewers. This relevance is very important.

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1. Kong yan le chu was described as the peak positive emotional experience in pursuing moral perfection by the philosophers who belonged to the Confucian school of idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming dynasties (960-1644 BC). Kong is the surname of Confucius. Yan indicates Yan Hui, a disciple of Confucius. This expression is from the Analects. Confucius talked about how he felt in experiencing the hardships. He said "I drink water to appease my hunger, and sleep on my elbows, but I still feel very happy in pursuit of the moral perfection" (The Analects: Shu Er). On another occasion Confucius praised Yan Hui for his spiritual state in pursuing moral perfection. He said: "Worthy indeed was Hui! A single bamboo bowl of millet to eat, a gourd of water to drink, living in a back alley - others would have found it unendurably depressing, but Hui's cheerfulness was not affected at all. Worthy indeed was Hui!" (The Analects: Yong Ye).

In the research literature on modelling and reinforcement Bandura's social learning theory, beyond doubt, comes first on the list. His study of vicarious learning, particularly the relationships between televised models and children's modelling behaviour, such as aggression, dependency, self-reward and self-punishment, throws light on the construction of the frame of reference and the conceptual terminology of my research. It should be emphasized that the predictors he used to define an effective model in the attention subprocess have been evidenced in my analyses of the movies and the subjects' questionnaire. All these points explain why I chose Bandura's theory as one of the theoretical bases of the study.

2.7.2 THE LINKAGE OF SEMIOTICIANS' BINARY OPPOSITIONS WITH YIN AND YANG

Binary oppositions are fundamental to semiotic thought, particular structuralist. They were neither invented by Berger, nor other semioticians. Forms of binary oppositions are always present in human thought. Dualism and Christianity may be the very foundations of the Western Philosophical and religious world-view. Confucius and Lao Zi initially noticed the binary phenomena in Chinese thought, language and literature. Their theories are fundamentally based upon the concept of the binary opposition of yin and yang. The big difference, as Hall and Ames noticed, between Western dualism and Confucianism and Taoism lies in the metaphysical immanence of binary oppositions. The Western dualism "Involves a radical separation between the transcendent and nondependent creative source" (Hall and Ames, 1987, p.18). The Chinese philosophers however focus upon the "constitutive", "correlative" and changeable relationships between the two opposites. This kind of binary opposition "requires correlative terminologies in order to explain the dynamic cycles and process of existence" (ibid., p.19).

Although Confucius and Lao Zi tried to explain the immanence of binary phenomena in both the natural and social worlds from a dynamic viewpoint, Confucianism, as an orthodox philosophy, is practically much concerned with the resolution of binary relationships between yin and yang such as Heaven (yang) and human (yin), a ruler (yang) and his subjects (yin), morality (yang) and immorality (yin), government (yang) and personal cultivation (yin), inner (yin) and outer (yang) life. The ideas of harmony between nature and human, the doctrine of the mean, benevolent government and moral perfection might result from such theoretical explanations (Ge Rong-jin, 1991). By

contrast, Taoism is greatly interested in the metaphysical explanations of the ways of yin and yang, which determine the nature and human order.

Taoism was established by Li Dan (Lao Zi) in the era in Chinese history known as the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC). Although Taoism does not have the same official and dominant position as Confucianism in Chinese history, it does have a great impact on Chinese patterns of thinking, ideology, morality, especially arts, literature, and architecture. It complements Confucianism, running side by side like powerful streams through all later Chinese thought and literature, appealing simultaneously to the two sides of the Chinese character.

The classic work of Taoism is Tao Te Ching (Dao De Jing), written by Lao Dan (Lao Zi). The distinguishing feature of Tao Te Ching is its dialectic, which emphasizes the importance of the opposites coexisting in any single entity. According to this principle, Lao Zi focuses upon the dialectical relationships between yin and yang mainly in the forms of "positive" and "negative", "existence" and "nihil". He explains that "When people know what the beautiful is, the ugly appears; when people know what the good is, the bad appears. Thus existence comes out of nihil; difficulty comes out of easiness; length and shortness come out of comparison; height exists because of lowness; melody comes out of the opposition of sound and tone; the first and the end come out of rank" (Dao De Jing: Chapter 2). When asked what Tao is, he says "If Tao can be identified, then it is not the real and eternal Tao; if a name can be characterized, then it is not the eternal name. Nihil is the origin of the heaven and the earth, and existence is the mother of all things" (ibid., Chapter 1). "Tao moves in an opposite direction. It is the law of Tao of movement. Where the weak part of the thing is, there is the function of Tao " (ibid., Chapter 40). These ideas have developed into the three golden rules of arts serving both the purposes of aesthetics and ideology (Ge Rong-jin, 1991, pp100-111).

The first principle is that "image relates to meaning" (ibid.). An image of yang carrying the hidden meaning yin is subject to variation. As Chinese culture is ethically oriented, moral meaning is always presented in pictorial arts. Therefore, a landscape with different colour, light, position and space might have a different moral meaning. Film and television are moving pictures; like any pictorial arts, they use images and shots to communicate

ideology and values. An image of the Yellow River has different moral values to Chinese when it is shown frozen or not frozen, with turbulent waves or without, clear or indistinct, bright or dark. Meanwhile, an image has cultural connotations. When Chinese see the image of the Yellow River with surging water in Three Decisive Campaigns, they are naturally aware of its connotation, i.e. a symbol of the will of people, the Mandate of Heaven, but for a Westerner without knowledge of Chinese culture, it means something else. By the same token, a low-angled image of a stone mill conveys a sense that the mill is dominant and overpowering, so that it connotes an appraisal of Mao Ze-Dong's virtues of diligence and closeness to commoners.

The second principle is "existence relates to nihil" (ibid.). The point can be illustrated by the following example. In my opinion, the important difference between Western and Chinese painting lies in the different focuses that the painters use. Westerners focus on the peculiar effects of light, oil and colour, but the Chinese pay much more attention to the effect of space. A piece of white paper, to a Chinese painter, is like the chaos of the world. Once the brush is put on it, yin and yang are born, out of them a new world of vitality comes. In other words, the space of the paper symbolizing nihil is yin, and ink symbolizing existence is yang. They both comprise the painting in a complementary way. Let us consider the master-work of Fishing at a River by the famous painter, Ma Yuan, in the Song Dynasty. The painting depicts a small boat, an old man, a few brush-stokes of waves, but leaves a comparatively large space for the viewer's imagination. The effect of the space is so strong that it seems that we are facing a stretch of waters without a boundary in a chilly autumn (Ge Rong-jin, 1991, p.97). The Chinese associate white space with water and chilly weather because of the complementary function of nihil against existence. Film and television convey meaning in the same way. When people see a film or watch television, they know what particular connotative values the shots and images have because they judge their meanings by conscious or unconscious comparison of them with (a) all the shots like them that might fit in this context but were not chosen, and (b) the shots precede or follow them. James Monaco, an American film theorist, notices these two ways by which film and television convey meaning. He calls the formal "the paradigmatic", and the latter, "the syntagmatic" (Monaco, 1981, pp.131-132).

The third principle is "the negative relates to the positive" (Ge Rong-jin, 1991, p.99). This is the basic conception of film structuralism, in the term of binary oppositions. For example, Chinese viewers draw the conclusion that Chiang Kai-Shek in Three Decisive Campaigns is a false hero because many shots of Chiang are opposite of those of Mao. In the same way many shots of country-side convey different values and political meaning to those of cities. These binary oppositions presented in all the formulaic elements, the Proppian functions and outcomes, help us to understand the real meaning of the film.

It should be noticed that Taoism not only contributes a lot to Chinese arts, but also has a fundamental influence on Western communication research (Sita-ram, 1995). In his book Culture and Communication, Sitaram gives high praise to Taoism. The relevance of this Western approach to mass media appears in the following statement.

> "The great contributions of Lao Zi and his followers to the theory of human communication are their concepts of a harmonious world and the ever-changing nature. The concept of a harmonious world is the famous Yin Yong (Yang). Taoists believe in the harmony of opposites. The idea of integrating the opposites has given rise to the new communication research techniques of semantic differential, congruency principle, balance theory, and discriminant analysis. Yin-Yong (Yang) reflects moderation, rather than contradiction. This is similar to the concept of modern semantic differential technique, based on the bipolar adjective which measures the overall image of a person or an institution" (Sitaram, 1995, p.128).

In addition, Berger's modified approach takes both text and structure of film narratives into consideration in exploring the communication of meaning. It is appropriate here, since my study is actually a narrative analysis covering those aspects of movie texts and structures. For these reasons Benger's modified approach becomes the second basis of my study.

3 THE ORIGIN OF CHINESE VALUES

This chapter, following the historical linkage of the symbolic models and values, offers a brief description of the archetypes and philosophical basis of Chinese morality. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, I choose monarch literature as my focus because of its crucial position in our five thousand year old civilization and its powerful influence upon shared Chinese beliefs and values. Through the analysis of values in the myths and in Confucius' works, I try to clarify how narratives present their value models to their readers and viewers by their redundancy and repetition. Besides, a historical and ethnographical background, as well as a discussion of the concept of the self are necessary for better understanding of the issue of values in the Chinese context.

3.1 A HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

China has a land area of 9.6 million square kilometers with a huge population of 1,200, 000,000. The Han nationality makes up 94% of the population. There are 55 minority nationalities spread all over the country. Han culture has been a dominating force.

The landmass of China may be divided into plains (14%), basins (16%), plateaus (34%), hills (9%), and mountains (30%). Plains and basins provide the richest agricultural production. A wide variety of crops and trees are grown in hill areas through terracing. Plateaus and mountains are found mainly in western and central China. The great Yangse and Yellow Rivers provide a basis for irrigation systems throughout the country. The climate is diversified. Temperatures in the north and south differ by only about 8°C in summer, but differences are extreme in winter with a range as great as 34°C between Guangzhou in the south and Harbin in the north. Rainfall varies greatly, being highest in the southeast and decreasing as one moves towards the northwest (Qin Shi, 1993, pp.5-34).

Chinese history goes back to a legendary era from ca. 2852 to 2205 BC in which the five emperors (Huang, Zhuanxu, Ku, Yao, Shun), often called

cultural heroes, were credited with the early achievements of civilization, such as the discovery of fire, the creation of the first laws and religious rituals, the origin of fishing, hunting, agriculture, the division of the calendar, the development of medicine, and the invention of writing, as well as the development of sericulture by the wife of Emperor Huang. The Xia dynasty (2205-1766 BC) marks the beginning of China's hereditary monarchies. In the Shang (1766-1122 BC) and Zhou (1122-221 BC) dynasties with an advanced bronze and iron technology, a feudalistic society developed and in the latter years of this era Confucianism and Taoism were born. The whole empire was united under a centralized administration by Qin Shi Huang Di (221 BC), who began the standardization of the Chinese written language, currency, weights and measures. The Han dynasty (202 BC-220 AD) evolved the earliest meritocratic form of government through the imperial examination system, thus establishing Confucianism as the orthodoxy. The Tang dynasty (618-907) was a golden age of economic development and cultural expansion distinguished by poetry, painting, and by inventions such as the printing press, gunpowder, etc. The Song dynasty (960-1279) stimulated technological development, literature and philosophical debates flourished. The Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) saw the ascendancy of the Mongolian rulers. Yet the harshness of the Yuan administration could not hinder the advance of traditional culture, which flourished in areas such as art, vernacular literature and operatic drama. When the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) expelled the Mongols, there was a period of a highly commercialized economy, and of considerable vitality and diversity in Confucianism. The last dynasty, Qing (1644-1911), was ruled by the Manchus. In the late nineteenth century, the Qing empire experienced a crisis of widespread popular revolts, and a series of foreign invasions such as the two Opium Wars with the British (1840 and 1856), the Franco-Chinese War (1884-1885), and the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).

The last emperor of the Qing Dynasty (Pu Yi) was deposed in the Revolution of 1911 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Kuomintang (the National People's Party). China finally ended the autocratic monarchy which had lasted several thousand years. Later, the Kuomingtang (KMT) crushed Yuan Shih-Kai's imperial restoration and other warlords, and formed the Nationalist Government which ruled China until 1949. With the decline of the Nationalist Government of Nanjing administered by President Chiang Kai-shek, also with the second Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945, the Communist Party of China (CPC), founded in 1921, had developed quickly. Under the leadership of Mao Ze-dong, who became Party Chairman in 1935, the Communist Party became a powerful rival to the Kuomintang government with the

People's Liberation Army of more than one million in the 1940s (Fan Wen-lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978).

In 1946 the Chinese civil war between the KMT and the CPC inevitably broke out. Chiang Kai-shek's administration, with the overwhelming advantage of military forces equipped with modern American arms, lost the war because of its incapacity for economic revival and military command, and because of corruption, factionists, and lack of a vision for the future of the Chinese people. Meanwhile, the CPC grew in size and power and finally won the war through efficient military command and popular mobilization. The civil war ended in 1949 with Chiang Kai-shek withdrawing to Taiwan and Mao Ze-dong as the leader of Communist China. During that time there were quite a lot of fierce battles, but it was the three decisive campaigns launched in 1947-1949 that fundamentally resulted in the overall demise of Chiang Kai-shek's administration. The movie Three Decisive Campaigns, which I will analyze later, deals with historical events happening at that time.

3.2 MYTHOLOGY AS THE ARCHETYPE OF VALUE MODELS

The myths here have all been excerpted from the Chinese Mythology (Tao Yan & Zhong Xou, 1990) of the pre-dynastic period of the Three Sovereigns and the Five Emperors. These are the earliest monarch and dragon myths to be found in Chinese literature. These monarch models, such as Emperors Huang, Yao, Shun, and Yu, have been landed as "sage-emperors" in the Confucianist classics and have become our cultural heroes; Emperor Zhou however has been considered the immoral model. They are known to practically every Chinese household. Although these stories are set five thousand years ago, we can easily find many similarities in respect of values, narrative structures, plot patterns, themes, conflicts and reinforcing outcomes with the movie Three Decisive Campaigns. We also come to know how value models have been established and evolved through symbolization in a given society.

3.2.1 DRAGONS AND MONARCHS

The Chinese dragon is connected with monarchs firstly because of its unique appearance. In the myths it is a strange mixture of several animals. It has the head of a camel, the horns of a stag, the eyes of a demon, the ears of a cow, the neck of a snake, the belly of a clam, the scales of a carp, the claws of an

eagle, and the soles of a tiger. On its head is the lump that enables it to soar through the air. The body has three jointed parts, the first being "head to shoulder", the second, "shoulder to breast", and the third, "breast to tail". The scales number 117, of which 81 are imbued with good influence (yang) and 36 with bad influence (yin), for the dragon is partly a preserver and partly a destroyer. Under the neck the scales are reversed. There are three, four, and five "fingers" or claws on each foot. The five-fingered dragons are the dragon-kings. The male dragon has whiskers, and under the chin, or in the throat, is a luminous pearl. These unique characteristics make dragons a supernatural and holy creature which controls human life (Mackenzie, 1994, pp.45-46).

A dragon relates to monarchs in the hierarchical system. According to the Book of Changes, "A water-snake after 500 years changes into a dragon with fish scales (jiao), a jiao after 1000 years into a dragon without horns; a dragon without horns after 500 years into a horned dragon, and after 1000 years into a winged dragon" (Yi Jing, p.38). It means that among the thousands of creatures only snakes have the possibility to become a dragon. This distinction creates a strict line between commoners and royal members. Even dragons have different classes. Only the horned dragon with five fingers can be a king. The common dragon dwells in pools, rises to the clouds, makes thunder and brings rains, and floods rivers. The dragon king lives in the ocean, and controls the tides and causes the waters to ebb and flow as does its magic pearl. With its scales of Yang and Yin, it presides over the seasons, the phrases of the sun, the moon and stars, and the divisions of the world. The dragon is thus the superpower of heaven and earth. As emperors are the holy beings of the earth, the Sons of Heaven, the idea of the dragon being the symbol of imperial power is based upon this ancient conception.

Like monarchs, dragons are moralized as well. There are good dragons and bad dragons. The all-absorbing dragon even appears as a vampire. A tiger-headed dragon with the body of a snake seizes human beings, covers them with saliva, and sucks blood from under their armpits. No blood is left when they stop sucking. Thus "dragon battle" inevitably occurs around the conflict between justice and injustice, salvation and destruction, and ends with the victory of good dragons. When "dragon battle" comes, a thunderstorm breaks out, and rain pours down in torrents. The rivers flood and cause much

destruction and loss of life. As the emperor was closely connected with the dragon-god, social upheavals and war might result. Natural calamities are thus connected with the social order. Confucius' concept of the "Mandate of Heaven" is born from such a primitive idea.

Dragons were life-givers, not only as the gods who presided over the seasons and ensured the food-supply, but as those who offered cures for diseases. The "Red Cloud Herb" and other curative herbs were found after a thunderstorm beside the dragon-haunted pools. Fossil bones with five colours (the colours of the five dragons) were regarded as the most effective "dragon bones" for medicinal purposes. This special quality was emphasized and evolved into "benevolent government", a core virtue of a sage-emperor prescribed by Confucius.

The gods in the heaven ride on common dragons, and therefore emperors and holy men can also use them as vehicles. It was said that Emperor Yu (Master of the flood) had a carriage drawn by two dragons. The souls of the dead are conveyed to the celestial regions by the winged dragons. A dragon appears when a great man is born. Emperors thus had dragon ancestors.

As we can see, the dragon myths conform exactly to the "hierarchial-elitist political culture" defined by Aaron Wildavsky (ref. Berger, 1992, p.60). It "justifies inequality, shows difference to superiors, the value of power, sacrifices the part to the whole" (ibid.). With its emphatic connections with sovereignty, Heaven, power struggle, social order and morality, it rationalizes the eternal holiness of the emperor from a supernatural will, the Mandate of Heaven, and stresses the necessity of a virtuous superpower at the apex of human society to ensure the smooth operation of the social order, while justifying the rightness of using violence. These rationalizations gave rise to the basic philosophical viewpoints of Confucianism which tried to explain the relationships between the cosmos and human society, monarchs and subjects, power and war, morality and social order. From these original rationalizations our social censure or social conventions towards the monarch, war, morality and social order were also formed.

The dragon culture throws light on the roots of Chinese civilization, in which the core of value standards, beliefs and the mode of thinking are located. Thus the space given to the description of dragons will help us to understand the

inevitable link between dragons and value models in the movie Three Decisive Campaigns preferred by the Chinese adolescents.

3.2.2 MYTHOLOGICAL HEROES

Emperor Huang. In the era of the Five Emperors, after Xian-yuan (king of the north tribe) defeated Shen-long (king of the south tribe), all the ministers except Chi-you supported Xian-yuan as emperor. Chi-you was the son of Shen-long. Like his father, he was ox-headed with sharp horns, a bronze forehead and iron skull. He was evil, and of unusual strength. His temples were covered with hair which bristled like swords. He was the inventor of war, as well as of weapons made of stones, clams and bronze. To avenge his father he forced his men by cruel torture to start a war against Huang.

Huang was a very kind-hearted sage who did not like war and loved his subjects. In the literal sense he was the "Son of the Heaven", for his real father was the Thunder-God. He therefore had "a dragon-like countenance". He often tried to persuade Chi-you to give up the war, but all his efforts were in vain. When he heard that the border has been attacked and his subjects brutalized, he was outraged and decided to go war himself.

Both sides had the aid of celestial creatures: the Winged Dragon sided with Emperor Huang, the Count of the Wind and the Master of Rain with Chi-you. In the battle, when Chi-you called down thick fog to confuse the fighting, Huang and his troops got lost, and were therefore surrounded for many days. Thanks to the enlightenment of the polestar, Huang invented the compass so as to guide his forces to break through their tight encirclement. They retreated to Mount Tai recover from their heavy loss.

One day Huang had a dream that he had been summoned by an angel to the Royal Mother of the Western Paradise and got a book on the art of war. After waking up, he told his dream to the minister called Feng-hou. Feng-hou said to Huang, "This is the Mandate of Heaven." Together they studied the book for a hundred days, but still did not understand thoroughly. Huang then ordered his men to build an altar beside the river to pray to heaven. When he was praying, a tortoise held a note in its mouth up to Huang from the water. The note told him how to defeat Chi-you.

Then Huang led his troops to fight against Chi-you again. When Chi-you summoned the evils and monsters to attack Huang's army, Huang bade his troops blow horns which made the sound of dragons. This sound of dragons terrified the evils and monsters. In despair Chi-you asked the Count of Wind and the Master of Rain to bring about a flood against Huang. But Huang invented the drum to encourage the morale of his troops, and bade his daughter Pa, the Goddess of Drought, drive off the rain and wind. Chi-you was defeated and beheaded. His body and head were buried in separate places. His cangue became a forest of maple trees, whose leaves turn red in autumn because the blood of Chi-you on the cangue which Huang used to arrest him. The war had ended, but Pa, the Goddess of Drought stayed on the earth because of the exhaustion of her power. This is why drought still inflicts itself upon mankind.

Thus Huang was installed as the first Emperor in the predynastic period. He was titled the Son of Heaven, Emperor Huang, and the Ancestor of the Chinese. Huang in Chinese is a surname and also means yellow, which symbolizes the race. Even now every year many Chinese, including the offspring of overseas Chinese, consider visiting the tomb of Emperor Huang as a ceremony in honour of their ancestors (Tao Yan & Zhong Xou, 1990, pp.504-508).

Emperor Yao. Yao was the fourth of the Five Emperors in the pre-dynastic era, the son of a red dragon. He was said that he was not born until fourteen months after conception. There were two pupils in each of his eyes. He was a great sage and wonderful things occurred during his reign. He lived in Ping Yang, located in Shan Xi Province. Every day he worked from sunrise to sunset. He dug a well for drinking water and ploughed the fields to grow rice as well. He was famed in history for his benign rule.

Yao had ten sons. The eldest, Dan-zhu, was an evil man, who bullied and oppressed his people. At that time the floods always covered the earth. Dan-zhu was lazing around in a boat without caring about the suffering of his people. When the flood ceased, he still bade his men drag the boat across the land. He took great delight at the sight of his servants being tired and sweating from dragging the boat, and called this game "the boat sails on the land". At home he made trouble between his brothers, so that the ten sons were always fighting.

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When Yao became old, he resolved not to pass his throne to his sons, but went out and sought a worthy successor. One day he saw a young man knocking a small winnowing-fan while ploughing the field. He was puzzled and said to himself: "Why does he use a fan instead of a whip?" Just then Yao saw an old man come up with a heavy load on his shoulder. As soon as the young man saw this, he stopped his own work to help the old man. Yao came up to the old man and asked: " Is he your son?" The old man answered: "No, he is the head of this place. He always helps his people." Then, deciding to ask him some questions, Yao turned to the young man: "Is what he said true?" The young man answered, "That man overpraised me." Yao asked: "What is your name? Why do you knock the winnowing-fan when ploughing?" He answered, "My name is Shun. Although an ox is an animal, it does hard work every day. I use the fan only to scare it. I do not want to hurt it with a whip." Hearing of this, Yao was very satisfied with Shun and said: "You are a very kind man. If you become the ruler of the country, you will certainly love your people."

Shun went to the capital city with Yao. He passed all the examinations on how to rule the country. His wide learning and great abilities were highly praised by Yao and his ministers. Thus Shun was selected as the successor.

It is said that this selection was approved by five star-gods whose spirits appeared as five old men and walked about among the islands of the Yellow River. On another occasion a bright light came from the river, then beautifully-coloured vapours arose and a dragon-horse appeared, carrying in his mouth a scaly cuirass for Shun, whose appointment was thus signally approved by Heaven.

Shun was a great sage. On ascending the throne, he enacted new laws, so that the government of the Empire might be regulated and strengthened, and he was the first monarch to create mandarins (Tao Yan & Zhong Xou, 1990, pp.513-515).

3.2.3 EMPERORS HUANG AND YAO AS MONARCH MODELS

Huang and Yao as monarch models in the myths influence Chinese values in the four respects which were later developed theoretically by Confucius. The first concerns the relationship between the monarch and Heaven. Heaven authenticates the sovereignty of the monarch through the "Mandate of Heaven" revealed in some natural phenomenon. The second issue concerns the

monarch and his subjects. The monarch should love his people and implement benevolent government. The third issue is the rightness of using violence and war to gain sovereignty on the behalf of the people. Thus wars are divided into the just and unjust, and just wars will always win because the good monarchs are supported both by Heaven and his subjects. A bad monarch will however be destined to fail, and should be sentenced to death. The fourth issue is the relationship between morality, sovereignty, and social order. Furthermore, a good monarch should have good qualities, such as intelligence, kindness, diligence, courage, justice, faithfulness and a habit of simple living, so that he can be given the Mandate of Heaven and be loved by his subjects. In such a way perfect social order can be maintained.

Generally speaking, these four issues target the rationality of value models and their reinforcing outcomes, rationalizations about a good or a bad emperor thus being judged by these four aspects. Through an enduring cultural deposit, they have become a kind of "social bias" (Bandura, 1986), or "social censure" (Sumner, 1990), a basis of our value standards. I will discuss this in detail later, and a clear link will be found in the value models presented in Three Decisive Campaigns.

3.2.4 EMPEROR ZHOU AS AN IMMORAL MODEL

In the Book of Odes there is a historical record about the sinful emperor Zhou, who was overthrown by King Wu because of his despotic rule. The story is set in the time when the Shang dynasty (1520-1030 BC) had begun to decline, the rulers becoming weak and profligate. Zhou was an intemperate and extravagate tyrant. He was recorded in the history books as the first man to have used ivory chopsticks, regarded as the greatest luxuries at that time. One of his viscounts admonished him: "Ivory chopsticks will be followed by cups of gemstone. You will be wanting to eat bears' paws and leopards' wombs, and proceed to other extravagances. Your indulgence of desire may cost you the Empire." It precisely happened as the viscount warned.

Emperor Zhou came under the influence of a beautiful but a wicked woman called Ta-ji, whom he married. The most licentious songs were composed for their amusement and the vilest dances performed. A park was laid out for her amusement. "There was a pond of wine; the trees were hung with flesh; men and women chased each other about quite naked." Drinking bouts were common in the palace, and when the princes, ministers and people began to rebel, new and terrible tortures were introduced. The queen had a copper pillar constructed, which was greased all over. It was laid above a charcoal fire, and culprits were ordered to walk on it. When they slipped and fell into the fire, Ta-ji was "greatly delighted" (Book of Odes, p.397).

The Shang dynasty was overthrown by King Wu, the founder of the Zhou dynasty (1030-221 BC). Before Wu became Emperor, a red man came out of the river to secure the support of allies, and phoenixes brought messages from Heaven to the effect that the reigning dynasty was doomed.

In their books, Confucius and his disciple, Mencius, commented upon Zhou's failure. They both concluded that the only way of getting sovereignty is to gain the support of the people (Book of Mencius, 6A:3). The reason is that a just emperor enjoys abundant support while an unjust emperor finds little support. Thus, if the emperor is sinful and immoral, people get the right from Heaven to overthrow him. This is the first time in history that the Mandate of Heaven was seen as changeable, and was defined as "benevolent governing" (Guo Qi-jia, 1987). This idea thus has long been advocated and proved to be rationale by the Confucianist authorities. It has thus become a cultural convention, which influences Chinese national values, beliefs and conduct.

3.3 CONFUCIUS' IDEAL MAN AND VALUES

I have briefly summarized the myths about dragons and monarchs in the pre-dynastic era. I also mentioned a historical emperor Zhou in the Shang dynasty from one of classic books of Confucianism, the Book of Odes (Shi Jing). In this section, I focus on how the values presented in the myths have been developed into our national ideal morality by Confucianism.

3.3.1 CONFUCIANISM AND THE CONCEPTION OF MAN AND HEAVEN

People in Western countries naturally associate the Chinese culture with Confucianism. Confucianism is in fact synonymous with it in this sense. It was established by Confucius (551-479 BC) and his disciples from an integration of the cultures of the Han nationality with the other minorities (like Yi Ti) during the Spring and Autumn (Chun Qiu) period (770-481 BC), then enriched in the West Han dynasty (206-25 BC) by a great Confucianist, Dong Zhong-shu (179-104 BC), with Taoism, Mohism, Yin Yang, Legalism, Logicianism and the Eclectics; and finally absorbed the new ideas from Metaphysics and Buddhism through the scholars, such as Er Cheng and Zhu Xi in the Song (960-1279) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties (Fan Wen-lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978).

The most essential characteristic of Confucianism is its political-ethical orientation, which still affects our values, thought, behaviour, and personalities. Theoretically the political-ethical orientation is based upon Confucius conception of man and the human's inherent goodness (ren). According to Confucius, the human is intrinsically good, differing from animals in their social features and virtues. In any society, a human is more a social being rather than a physical being. Through engaging in social, economic and political activities, and through coping with various interpersonal relationships, they must learn the social rules and principles which make humans moral and social, as Mencius said: "The difference between human beings and animals are few, that is, the human has humanity (ren) and justice (yi)" which facilitate morality and sociability (Book of Mencius, 5A:4). He continued, "A person without sympathy is not a human being; a person without courtesy is not a human being; a person without knowing right and wrong is not a human being; a person without the feeling of shame is not a human being" (Mencius 5A:5).

Confucius learned this lesson from the fact that Emperor Zhou, a sinful ruler of the Shang dynasty was overthrown by Duke Wu, who was at a military disadvantage and later became the first emperor of the Zhou dynasty. In Confucius' opinion, the lesson is that sovereignty can only derive from morality. He revealed the dialectical relationship between monarch, subject and morality. In Chinese history he was the first to maintain that morality was politicized and politics moralized (Li De-shun, 1987). In the following section we see that his idea has been adopted by almost all Chinese monarchs, Mao Ze-dong going even further during his rule.

The second important conception of Confucianism is Heaven, a cultural symbol defined as the incarnation of morality, ritual and an ideal social order. Thus Confucius' ideology of "the interlink between man and Heaven" has been developed. This idea was further developed by Dong Zhong-Shu, who assumed that Heaven was the origin of moral guiding principles, and that Heaven decided and controlled the goodness and badness of human beings (Guo Jia-Qi, 1987, pp.143-148). A recent scholar, Zhang Dai-nian says that "According to traditional Chinese philosophers, truth is moral perfectibility. Seeking for the truth of nature means seeking the goodness of society. Therefore, the principles of truth equal the principles of goodness. Mankind cannot understand the truth of the world without the pursuit of goodness. In short, Goodness is truth, and the pursuit of moral perfectibility is the activity of seeking for the truth of the world" (Zhang Dai-nian, 1982, p.7). The Chinese Heaven, as against the conception of Heaven in Hebraic or other Western cultures, in which it means God or the natural phenomena, not only indicates a physical entity or a natural environment, but also a perfect social order and a moral environment in which a human lives and works in peace and contentment. In this sense Heaven is a harmonious state between nature and human, and physicality and spirit. Creel also noted that "Confucius thought of Heaven as an impersonal ethical force, a cosmic counterpart of the ethical sense in man, a guarantee that somehow there is sympathy with man's sense of right in the very nature of the universe" (Creel 1951, p.126).

3.3.2 CONFUCIUS' IDEAL MAN AND REN

What Confucius advocated as the ideal and perfect morality is a sage-emperor with ren (nei shen wai wan). This perfect value model is the trinity of Heaven, society and morality. It has three aspects. The first is the self cultivation of the sage's virtues, that is, every person should conscientiously pursue his moral perfectibility, ren.

Second, the moral perfectibility of a person is a vital precondition for gaining sovereignty to rule a perfect society and for actualizing personal morality in society, because benevolent governing is the Mandate of Heaven. Heaven, symbolized by dragons, tortoises, snakes, stars, the moon, the sun and meterological phenomena, expresses its desire for "benevolent governing".

Third, from the point of view of Confucius, the Mandate of Heaven defines the moral responsibilities on everybody to strive for the perfect social order. "Everybody can become Emperor Yao and Shun" if he becomes a sage (Zhang Li-wen, 1992, p.26). While Heaven bestows a holy right on the sage to govern his subjects with benevolence, it also bestows its holy right on the sage to overthrow the immoral sovereign to save the people from suffering. Hence the sage wins the support of his people because he puts ren into effect on behalf of Heaven. As the Book of Odes says: "The Mandate of Heaven is changing. So long may the ruler be worthy of Heaven's Mandate" (Mencius 2A:4). On what basis does Heaven confer the Mandate on a ruler? The Book of History says that "Heaven sees with the eyes of its people. Heaven hears with the ears of its people" (Mencius 5A:5). Xun Kuang (313-238 BC), a disciple of Confucius, compares the relation between a monarch and a subject to water and a ship. In his book, he said: "A monarch is like a ship, and people are like water. A ship sails on water but the ship can be capsized by water too" (Zhang Li-wen, p.4). Thus from dragon myths and Confucianist literature comes the Chinese cultural convention that public opinion decides the sovereignty of a monarch. The sage who enjoys the ardent support of the people will win the sovereignty of the country. This cultural convention or social censure, which has dominated almost all historical and heroic writings, has long been fostered as self-censure in the personal value system. In the later chapters we will find that it still has a powerful influence upon modern media and literature.

In the Book of Rites (Li Ji), sixteen traits of a sage are prescribed. They are diligence, good manners, reservation, amiableness, being outstanding, fortitude, righteousness, care for one's country and people, good life, being an office-seeker, recommending able men, commitment, independence, correct behaviour, friendship and modesty (Li Ji, 1990). Nearly all these traits refer to morality, and the core of morality is ren, since Confucius thought that all virtues in the moral life were based on this concept. Ren has been variously translated into English as human-relatedness, humanity, humaneness, benevolence, the moral sense, and so on. In Confucius' words, "Ren means love the people" (Analects, 2:1). Here "love the people" embodies the high responsibility which the sage takes for saving his country from subjugation

and his people from suffering. This responsibility also demands the ultimate devotion to the perfect social order in the dilemma of losing his life in the struggle for a just society. The sage is thus a person who "in the face of danger is prepared to give up his life" (Analects 14:3).

The morality of a sage-emperor was first defined by Confucius as the three universal virtues of humanity (ren), wisdom (zhi) and courage (yong) in the Doctrine of the Mean. In Mencius, it was asserted that righteousness (yi) and ritual (li), together with humanity (ren) and wisdom (zhi) were the four sources of morality. All these virtues plus faith (xin), diligence (qin), modesty (qian), magnanimity (xu), filial piety (xiao), courtesy (gong) and loyalty (zhong) were commended repeatedly in the numerous exchanges and encounters, mainly between Confucius and his disciples related in the Analects. By the time of the Han dynasty, humanity, righteousness, ritual, wisdom, and faith had become the Five Unchanging Basic Virtues (Guo Qi-jia, 1987).

Accordingly a sage is not an aristocrat, but merely a talented gentleman of moral principles. He is a man who loves learning, who is consistently careful of his own moral conduct and pursuing his moral perfectibility, who considers the interest of the people and his country as his own priority, who is always ready to devote himself to the perfect social order and strive to actualize the benevolent rule of his country and people. Such a gentleman is just like the person described in the Analects: "He who is courteous is not humiliated, he who is magnanimous wins the multitude, he who is diligent attains his objectives, and he who is kind can get service from the people" (Analects 6:14). Because "The sage makes demands on himself; the inferior man makes demands on others" (Analects 7:15), "the sage who rules by moral force is like the pole-star, which remains in its place while the other stars surround it" (Luo Cheng-lie et al., 1988, p.2).

3.3.3 THE IDEAL MAN AND ITS REINFORCERS

In this section I would like to describe how the morality of a sage-emperor has been reinforced as the national "internalized value standards" (Bandura, 1986). I especially focus on the psychological function of the traditional selective system of civil service and moral affection from the viewpoint of Bandura's social learning theory in order to identify some important influences of social institutions and practices on values in the Chinese cultural context.

As I mentioned in chapter two, Bandura claims that behaviour and values are largely affected by social practices, institutions and their reinforcers (Bandura, 1969, 1973, 1986). In my opinion, the selective system of civil service at least had two functions. Politically and socially, it functioned as a strict social environment which ensured an equal opportunity for everybody to become a sage-emperor, Yao or Shun, while enforcing the social hierarchy and thus stabilizing the feudal order. These served as the strictest of conditions for controlling the behaviour of the citizens. Psychologically the selective system, by exercising powerful reinforcing control on the behaviour appropriate to being a sage-emperor, made the belief in hierarchy rational, so that its products associated with privilege, power and material reward operated as the most powerful motivators of behaviour. Through external reinforcing experiences being a sage-emperor had become self-directed behaviour.

The morality of a sage-emperor had been embedded in a political context characterized by the enhanced selective system of civil service for more than three thousand years. According to the historical records (Gu Shu-Sheng, 1981, pp.33-34), the system was formally started in the Zhou dynasty (1030-221 BC), considerably improved in the Han (202 BC-220 AD) and Tang dynasties (618-906), and officially dismantled in the Qing dynasty, in 1905 (ibid., pp.118-123). For a very long time, Chinese governments used the system of civil service examinations to recruit men of learning and of moral virtue as political leaders and officials, and society accorded intellectuals a very high social rank. The examinations covered mainly the classic Confucianist books. The Book of Rites states the fact that every citizen at that time, whether rich or poor and regardless of his social background, could enter official life and became a district magistrate or other official by passing the literary examinations. The official rank was decided by the person's academic achievements and moral conduct. Different official ranks had differing emoluments. The higher the official rank, the more payment.

The ancient Chinese official ranks (ibid.) were normally five, but they were changed in the various dynasties. The district magistrate was at the bottom of the colossal pyramidal structure of ancient government organisation. He was led by and had always to report to the prefect, who supervised twenty or more districts. The prefect reported to the provincial governor, who was responsible for a dozen or so prefectures. The governor in his turn reported to the central authorities (ministers) in the capital. The minister reported to the prime minister, with the Emperor at the top. An official, through promotion through social ranks, acquired a better understanding of the idea of benevolent go-

vernment, and of achieving his moral perfectibility. In such a way, the system of selection combined morality, capacity and education with the reinforcing incentives of power and money; as the popular Chinese saying goes, "You can discover a pot of gold in books". Thus the behaviour of being a sage is selected, organized and sustained by anticipated outcomes (being an emperor). Bandura states that "Status incentives operate as more powerful motivators of behaviour than does social approval of particular response patterns" (Bandura 1986, p.238). "People strive for social rank even in the absence of material benefit...for some individuals, effective exercise of leadership provides self-satisfaction" (ibid., p.238). As a result, aspiring individuals saw studying and personal cultivation as the prime means of achieving their self-actualization: that is, fulfilling their political ambitions and actualizing moral goodness in society.

The selective system thus not only functioned as motivators of the behaviour of being a sage-emperor, but also facilitated a reciprocal attitude towards virtues and "gain" (bao). That is to say, virtues, through the connection with gain (outcome) in the form of social rewards, help to form psychological reciprocity, one of basic elements of morality. The Chinese convention, "Good will be rewarded with good, and evil with evil" is originally derived from such a reciprocal attitude. This cultural convention inculcates the universal social-psychological compulsion to return a favour. The felt force of this in the receiver of the favour is psychologically transferred to the giver, and perceived as a psychic power in the giver to elicit a response. "This power is his virtue" (Analects 14:36). In this way, the selective system acted as a link between the external motivators and the self-regulatory mechanism by which behaviour became conscious and self-directed regardless of external reward and punishment.

Apart from advocating the selective system, Confucius also prized lofty moral feeling, the "peak self-satisfaction" of moral integrity (kong yan le chu). That means that in the pursuit of the sage-emperor state, the person will feel great satisfaction in his moral integrity. Such a feeling will facilitate cultivation of moral belief and inner moral standards, which will transform the external motivators into the intrinsic motivators. With such intrinsic motivators, a person, whether rich or poor, old or young, would take "being a sage-emperor" as the purpose of his life. Both Confucius and his best disciple Yan Zi were great sages although neither of them became an emperor during their lives; they had never given up their life goal. Such a person would actively participate in all kinds of social practice, put the life of politics and morality above his physical

life, take the interest of the country and the people as his highest responsibility, and finally fulfil his political administration and moral perfectibility. This is the actualization of ren. In short, the process from a sage to an emperor is the initiation, development and realization of ren through both external and internal reinforcement mechanisms.

3.4 SOCIAL CENSURES AND MODELLING

One of the important social functions of myths, philosophy and mass media is to frame the "social censures" (Sumner, 1990) or "self-censure" (Bandura, 1986), through which the society enforces the law, strengthens the social order and creates value categories for its members. Sumner's Rethinking Deviance explains the function of social censures in moral formation as follows.

"Social censures have a profound existence: at the heart of intense emotional patterns, in the centre of politically and economically significant moral-ideological formations, and in the struggles and self-justifications that make history... As such, they are vital forces in the constitutions of societies... Their general function is to signify, denounce and regulate, not to explain... Their typical consequence is not an adequate account of a social conflict but rather the distinguishing of offenders from non-offenders, the creation of resentment in their targets, or the cessation of the offensive matter. They mark off the deviant, the pathological, the dangerous and the criminal from the normal and good. They say stop, and are tied to a desire to control, prevent or punish" (Sumner, 1990, pp.26-28).

As mentioned above, social censures invoked within the course of historically specific social practices, such as system, ideology and means of control, act as a threshold of accepting or rejecting the value standards by their affective and justificatory elements. Bandura's research proved that the justifications provided by mass media greatly influence the self-evaluative mechanism of model learning (Bandura, 1986, pp.375-379). Before a viewer accepts a certain value model, she or he has to first justify the modelling behaviour. Hence what kind of justifications the medium provides and why the viewer chooses those justifications are vital. My research shows that social censures and the common values at least partially meet these demands, although the intensity of their function is different for different people.

I do accept Sparks' viewpoint (Sparks 1992, p.58), that is, the Chinese dragon and monarch myths are to help the circulation of these social censures in two ways. First the value models of the Chinese dragon and monarch myths themselves propose and prepare categories of virtue and vice. Like dragon and monarch wars, "the ratified use of war is only the most evident of the means used to resolve crises in the equilibrium of the world which the narrative projects" (ibid.). Hence in the subsequent chapters in analysing the two movies

preferred by the Chinese adolescents, I offer an account of how the narrative strategies of the mass media, like those of the dragon and monarch myths, invoke the image of value models for vicarious model learning by using their special formulas, rationalizations, reinforcing outcomes and the ways of resolving social crises to convey moral values. This is called censure by narrative.

Second, the moral tales of the myths and movies, and their use of binary-value models in telling them can also be taken as "reprehensible in themselves" (ibid.). Hence the medium and its messages, as well as the content which is used to warrant further arguments about the existence of a crisis in the social order, are in turn "prone to being considered as social-moral problems" (ibid.). This leads to censure of narrative, and "is among the grounds for calls for its more stringent regulations" (ibid.). These two kinds of social censures occur in television and film viewing activity and play a role in model justifications. In my study I give a detailed description of how the models rhetorically present the first social censures, which belong to the conception of "rationality" in my study. As for the second, I show some evidence in the questionnaire and leave this to my future research.

Although we might conclude that social censures originate from a certain political system, economic forms, ideology, morality and literature, they do in fact have a powerful effect upon the formation of the national morality and ideology. To this extent it might be said that viewing and reading the models of these myths, literature, and television programs is one kind of vicarious moral learning in Bandura's terms.

It should be emphasized that social censures are the most important part of the social conventions of a given society. Distinguishing social conventions or social censures from morality is not easy. Sumner's position is that morality is different from social convention in providing convincing reasons for justifying the behaviour, but social conventions or social censures do not (Sumner, 1990 p.28). Bandura (1986, p.291) considers that the difference between morality and convention lies in the "gravity of their consequence". In this sense, the rules and norms in conventions or social censures are adapted to "social convenience, group benefit, or because they serve those in the advantaged positions, rather than because of the inherent goodness or harmfulness of the behaviour itself" (ibid.). Turiel sees morality as concerned with those issues limited to questions of justice (Turiel, 1980, pp.71-72). However, their strict definitions are not the tasks of my study, since I am only concerned with how they influence the model selection.

That conventions and values can influence behaviour has been experimentally proved by Turiel and Bandura (Turiel, 1977, 1980; Bandura 1963, 1969, 1986). Bandura's study also reveals the persistence of conventions for transmitting certain behaviour from generation to generation in a given society.

The next section explains the characteristics of the Chinese social censures. In a later chapter a description of how they justify the rationality of the models in the movies selected together with the socially common values will be found.

3.5 THE CHINESE SOCIAL CENSURES

The Chinese social censures have three features. The first is betraying the Mandate of Heaven. Any person who does so is to be condemned and punished. Heaven authenticates the qualifications of a ruler through meterological phenomena and popular feeling. If a ruler conforms to the Mandate of Heaven, there is good weather for crops, people love and esteem him, and good social order is maintained. Therefore the Mandate of Heaven defines a harmony between Heaven and man, and a ruler and the people. Once the harmony is broken, the social censure will be activated.

The second censure resulting from public opinion justifies the power struggles. Although the king is the legislator, the people should be the ultimate judges in deciding what the will of Heaven is, and whether the actions of the king have faithfully conformed to the Mandate of Heaven. Thus public opinion is the most powerful censure on an immoral ruler. It arouses the strong anger of the people against the king, a negative feeling dangerous to the stability of the sovereignty. A "just war" and an "unjust war" are euphemistically distinguished. The person who starts an "unjust war" is socially censured. The person who starts a "just war" is validated. However, the euphemism is usually determined by the consequence of the war. The winner is hailed as "king", or "saviour", but the loser is labelled as "bandit" or "louse".

The last censure is on the immorality of a ruler or an ordinary person. It describes the categories of value. Traditionally the most important virtues for a good ruler are conformity to the Mandate of Heaven and benevolent governing. Others are justice, wisdom, courage, ritual, faithfulness, diligence, magnanimity, modesty, filial piety and the habit of simple living. For a commoner, the important virtues are loyalty, obedience, justice, diligence, magnanimity, filial piety, ritual, modesty and bravery. The difference between the

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values of a ruler and a commoner exists in the two political virtues, because in Chinese culture the four life goals of a person are described as "cultivating personal life, regulating the family, administering the country and achieving perfect order in the world". The first two goals and their related virtues are for every member of the society, while the latter and the related virtues are exclusively for those who would ascend the throne. The last censure justifies the punishment of a ruler or commoner when they betray these values. A ruler's appointment from Heaven would be forfeited, and he would be liable to punishment by both Heaven and the people. In my study I found that these social censures offer the rationalizations by which the adolescents justify certain characters as favourite models.

3.6 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE SELF

The concept of self is socially constructed and developed. It will differ from culture to culture. The difference lies largely in the ways people have participated in particular social practices, institutions and symbolic activities. This section gives a brief description of the formation of self concept in Chinese culture in respect of the function of family, ethical codes, the cultural metaphor and life goals prescribed by the orthodox philosophy, Confucianism.

3.6.1 FAMILY FUNCTION AND THE SELF

The Chinese culture distinguishes itself in family values, as Max Weber notices: "China is a familistic state, the family is a miniature state; the state, an enlarged family" (Weber, 1989, p.117). Because of the well-developed patriarchal-feudal system and the family-centred agricultural economy throughout a long history, family is the most important institution for children's socialization. In traditional societies, family was not only a place where children established their first close emotional bonds and learnt cultural norms and value, but also a legislatively social cell for assigning a special location in the social structure to promote the stability of societies (Shi Feng-yi, 1989). Compared with the function of family in Western cultures (here especially referring to US culture) in the formation of the concept of self, the Chinese family had its own characteristics.

In Western cultures, the value of privacy is initially cultivated in the family, as it plays a vital role in the socialization of the "inviolate self" (Shweder, 1991). Goffman (1971) uses the term "territories of the self" to describe how the sense of Western individualism is developed from the way a person is handled, and from the rights he or she is granted. Such "territories of the self" reside in the family life as eating, grooming, where a child sleeps, who he or she associates with, personal possessions, and as well as in those redundantly reiterated assertions of a parent which are a child's "security blanket" (Shweder, 1991, p.154). Such an assertion occurs when an adult asks a three-year-old "What do you want to eat for dinner? and again in the knock on the door before entering the child's personal space" (ibid.). These assertions help to develop a sense of individual heteronomy, the starting point for a child's physical and psychological separation from his parents, and a significant basis for developing an inviolate self. Thus the concept of "I" is developed as a child comes to realize his own rights, interest, and needs.

By contrast, the Chinese do not view the self as a unique and free entity, but as interdependent and family-linked. This interdependent self sees no physical separation from its parents. In the eyes of the parents, a child is considered as their own. *The Book of Filial Piety* states: "*The body is a part of the parents. It* is born from the combination of the parents, so it wholly belongs to the parents." "The body, skin and hair are granted by the parents. The child should not dare to hurt his body. This is the beginning of filial piety" (Shi Feng-yi, 1987, p.187). As a child is considered as a physical part of his parents, he certainly has no personal privacy in the family. In this cultural context, a sense of heteronomy and privacy is only initiated when a child develops the concepts of "my family" and "your family". In other word, a child distinguishes "I" from "others" not from an individual standpoint but a family-linked one. "I" differ from "you" because my family is different from yours. In turn, my own privacy is also my parents' and siblings' privacy. Evidence can also be found in the language. A Chinese might call "my family" "I", and "other person" the "other family", "the country" "national family". The proverb "Domestic shame should not be made public" (jia chou bu ke wai yong) is another example. Thus the conception of family-linked self reflects a group identity, which sees a person in relation to his bloodline, age, sex, status, and interpersonal context, and establishes order and hierarchy rather than ego as the reference frame in terms of role rules.

The Chinese conception of the self fosters an organic metaphor of family and extends it to the society (Meng Zi, 1992). The organic metaphor compares parents to the brain and children to the limbs, as do monarchs and subjects. This holistic viewpoint contends that family is constituted by its interrelated members and functions as a whole. A person cannot be abstracted from his biological and social relationships, because it is just like a hand or a leg, which would die if cut off. This organic metaphor judges each member by its function. For a family, parents are more important than children, as they can provide food, shelter and safety. They are thus compared to the brain and heart of the body, and the children to the other parts. The same metaphor is applied to the state. The ruler is compared to the brain, the officials, to internal organs, the commoners, to limbs. Since the brain and heart are more important to a body than limbs, the sacrifice of a particular part to protect the whole has become a natural rule. Therefore, in a traditional society "father guides son" was naturally considered the first of the three cardinal guides. The other two were "ruler guides subject" and "husband guides wife" (Guo Qi-jia, 1987). Filial piety was regarded as the first priority among virtues and was protected by the law of the state. Accordingly a child would be judged guilty and be sentenced if he did not obey his parents, if he got married when his parent died, if he reported his parent's

offence against the law, or if he possessed his own properties (Shi Feng-yi, 1989, p.87).

In Twenty-Four Filial Pieties, there are two striking stories (ref. Shi Feng-yi, 1989, p.90). The first is about a man called Jie Zhi-tui, who cut the flesh from his thigh to feed his mother because of famine. The second tells about a man called Guo Ju, who buried his son alive to save rice for his parents. Parents had the absolute rights to children's punishment, marriage, even their lives. The family as a legislature guaranteed the socialization of the self by fostering a sense of functional heteronomy. Thus that "I" differ from "you" is not only because my family is different from yours, but also because I have a different function in both family and society. This functional heteronomy promotes a responsibility-cored self based upon some vital duties, such as righteousness, sacrifice, and care, rather than rights, equality, obligations and justice.

3.6.2 TRADITIONAL ROLE NORMS AND THE SELF

As I mentioned before, the traditional Chinese role norms begin with family relationships, and extends to other social roles. In a family, the most important relationships are those of parent-child, husband-wife and child-child. Filial piety is the primary virtue for every child. Hence family relationships, such as husband-wife, parents-children and child-child, were characterized by Confucius as the basic social relationships. Filial piety was the primary virtue for every person. For having acquired the habits of love and respect for his or her parents and brothers in the home, one could not but extend this mental attitude of love and respect to other people's parents and elder brothers and to the authorities of the state. The moral principles and a set of role norms were prescribed and cultivated from the relationships between family members and society. A child should have the virtue of filial piety which entails that he respect his parents. A father should have the virtues of uprightness and strictness which entail that he educate his children. A mother should have the virtue of kindheartedness which entails that she love her children. An elder brother should have the virtues of friendship, magnanimity and protectiveness which entail that he protect and guide his younger brothers. A younger brother should have the virtues of respect and courtesy. A girl should have the virtue of obedience, which entails that she obey her parents at home, obey her husband after marriage and obey her son after her husband dies. A wife should have the virtues of proper manner, diligence, and modesty which entail that she follow her husband and preserve her chastity.

As for the subjects and monarch, a monarch should love his subjects and be concerned about the weal and woe of his subjects; a subject should have the virtue of loyalty. If every person conforms to his or her role norms, he or she will know the right behaviour when acting as a son or father, a monarch or subject, a man or woman, a senior or junior by practice. Through personal cultivation and school education in being a good child, father, and subject, the person can finally become a sage. And if every person conforms to his role norm, an ideal social order will certainly achieved (Meng Xian-cheng et alii, eds., 1980).

Nearly all role norms are related to the core morality ren (humanity) from which the relevant duty originates. In Chinese the ideograph for ren depicts two people inseparably related. Now man includes his emotion in his wholeness. The Chinese show this by not distinguishing heart and mind. The word means both. When man is wholly engaged in the relationship of ren, the appropriate emotion that is released must be "love", which is identical to care and goodness towards others. The concept of self is thus fostered in a combination of affection and responsibility.

This is different from the Western self, as the latter is characterised by reason and rights (Kohlberg, 1969). Gilligen has a new finding in her research on the development of morality. She mentions, beside the conception of morality as fairness concerning moral development in the understanding of rights and rules, that there is another conception of morality that arises from caring for others. Such a morality centres on the understanding of responsibility, personal relationships and collective interest (Gilligen, 1982, p.19). In this sense, it might be said that the Chinese culture is an affective culture with its core virtues of love, care, and responsibility.

3.6.3 LIFE GOALS AND THE SELF

The Great Learning (one of the Confucianist classic books) prescribed the four life goals: "The ancients who wished to preserve the fresh character of the people of the world would be first to set about ordering their national life. Those who wished to order their national life would first set about regulating their family life. Those who wished to regulate their family life would first set about cultivating their personal life. Those who wished to cultivate their personal life would first set about setting their hearts right. Those who wished to set their hearts right would first set about making their will sincere" (Da Xue, 1992, p.1).

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In a word, these four life goals include "cultivating personal life", "regulating the family", "administering the country" and "achieving perfect order in the world". Confucius stressed that a person, whoever he is, should consider personal cultivation as the basic way to be a sage-emperor.

Common to all four life goals is the notion of life as a sequence of episodes in which the person undertakes certain developmental tasks, which orient the development of self. The four goals can be divided into four stages and two levels. The first stage begins with the cultivation of morality at a very early age and throughout life. Morality includes the virtues of humanity (ren), righteousness (yi), ritual (li), wisdom (zhi), faith (xin), diligence (qin), modesty (qian), magnanimity (xu), filial piety (xiao), courtesy (gong) and loyalty (zhong) (Da Xue, 1992, p.2). The second stage deals with the family issue including marriage, and raising and educating children. These two stages are prescribed for all commoners. The third stage refers to political life, which a person will have when he passes the imperial examination to be an official in a monarchy. The fourth stage is exclusively for the person who can ascend the throne to achieve a harmony between Heaven and human, perfect order in morality and an ideal society. It is obvious that the latter two stages belong to the second level, an elite class.

What is important to the self in the four life goals is the overwhelming emphasis on ethics and politics. In contrast to the West, which is a kind of "sacred personalized self" (Schweder, 1991, p.151) with a supreme value in and of itself by viewing "society as mere association" (ibid.) based upon consent and contract, the Chinese concept of self focuses more upon human social and moral force. It is initiated by the sublimated libido and progresses towards unity between morality and an ideal order. It concerns group interest and social achievement, because it believes that essential human nature is in sociality and morality, and that an individual is just like an organic part which constitutes the society as a whole. Once the group interest is actualized, the individual interest is simultaneously satisfied. More than that, it is only actualized when the value of the self is transformed into the value of the society through the implementation of responsibilities. Any individual needs and desires should thus be consistent with the social and group needs, otherwise they are regarded as improper and immoral. These characteristics of the self and the related values are clearly presented in Three Decisive Campaigns. The analysis of cultural differences between the two movies will provide some profound knowledge of the self, which is subject to variance of culture.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented a historical review of the archetype of Chinese values in the dragon myth, cultural heroes and Confucius' works. Special attention is given to how these cultural heroes and the concept of the dragon had been developed into the national values, beliefs and censures by Confucius through social practices such as socially approved ideology and the reinforcement of the selective system of civil service. It is clear that the social practice produces the reinforcement function on fostering socially approved beliefs, censures and values. In addition, the description of the concept of self constructed by such social institutions as the family offers further evidence, and meanwhile explains how the products of human symbolic activities, such as cultural metaphor, the culturally-prescribed life goal and social norms shape a person's concept of self in Chinese society. In the later chapters, an obvious linkage of these values, censures and beliefs with value acceptance can be found in the analysis of the movies and the reasons the subjects gave in the questionnaire.

4 THE METHOD

In this chapter the discussion centres on the question of how I chose the materials and analysed them, including the design of the study and its related approach.

4.1 THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

The method of the study is a narrative analysis (defined later in Terminology), which is derived from Bandura's modelling conception and Berger's semiotic approach. In the first place, it is not a psychological one, but a merely narrative analysis. Like other narrative analyses, the method used in the study confirms the two criteria defined as follows:

a) It demonstrates a "heightened sensitivity to specifically cinematic formal elements" beneath the elements of character and plot, focussing on the interaction of the various strata of the narrative work.

b) Its main subject is the study of narrative structures and the activity of narrative comprehension from the relationships between the signifier, the signified and the signification (Stam, Burgoyne, Flitterman-Lewis, 1996, p54, p.71).

In the second place, the method is a modified one in consideration of the terminology partly drawn from the social learning concept. As I mentioned in the first chapter, this study is designed to clarify the important semiotic, social and psychological factors of the movie model which might influence value communication and acceptance. The terminology of the study should thus be composed of the important concepts which both Bandura and Berger used to study visual models and meaning transmitted through the constituents of a certain narrative. To a social learning theorist, what is important is the social and psychological determinants which influence the change in the viewers' behaviour after seeing a particular model in a movie. In their opinion, outcome reinforcement, social prevalence, model accessibility, salience and the functional valences of the event modelled are vital for modelling. To a semiotician, the symbolic meaning transmitted by the signifier, signified and signification is the top priority. Thus the plot pattern, binary structure, formulaic elements,

genre conventionalities constitute the most important part of Berger's terminology. I have composed the terminology of my study from the concepts of these two disciplines. Some of my terminology is directly borrowed; some reconstructed by myself from the concepts used by Bandura and Berger. For example, the term reality is adapted from Bandura's model accessibility and semiotic term realism, while the term rationality is from Bandura's justification and Berger's ideological basis. The reconstructed and loaned concepts make up the terminology to reveal the relationship between the movie model, narrative and values. In this sense, my research is a supplementary study for both modelling theory and film semiotics, as the former ignores the semiotic function in vicarious learning; the latter takes little notice of a character functioning as a value model for viewers.

The focus of this method is to delve into how a character can function as a value model through its relations with other formulaic elements, the plot pattern and binary structure to influence value communication and acceptance. The analysis thus includes issues of narrative, modelling, values and culture, centring on the three constituent levels of a character: the textual, the structural, and the logical. The three steps of the analysis will be outlined in the section on analytical procedures.

4.2 SAMPLING

The selection of movies and television shows is vital once the method has been defined. The criteria for choosing the text for narrative analysis would influence the result of the study. As value is the centre-piece of this study, the movies selected should strongly reflect the value preference of teenagers. I thus designed the questionnaire to consist of five items about general personal background (gender, grade, age, hobbies, entertainment), the ranking of the preferred fiction and the reasons why they like it. The questionnaire was sent to the teachers of each classes with a detailed letter explaining the research purpose in order to dispel the misgivings of both teachers and students. The choice of schools was based first on financial considerations, because the headmasters are my university schoolmates. They gave me a lot of help without pay. The second reason was consideration of regional and social differences. The overwhelming majority (90%) of the subjects of Nanchang County are peasants' children, but none of the subjects in Guangzhou City is from a peasant family. Most of their parents (80%) have college education.

4.2.1 SUBJECTS

The sample was chosen from two Chinese high schools. The first was a suburban senior high school in which 90% of students were the children of nearby peasants, located in Nanchang County, Jiangxi Province. The second school was a key high school[1] in Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. In all, 152 adolescents from each district (Nanchang County, n = 52; Guangzhou City, n = 100) took part in the survey. The sample was chosen at random from one junior class (grade 9) and two senior classes (grade 11) of the schools (n=152). The females numbered 67, accounting for 44%. The males numbered 85, accounting for 56%. On average, the subjects were 15.79 years old (standard deviation = 1.44). They were all students in the two middle schools. The seniors were 103, the juniors 49, the respective percentages being 67.1% and 32.9%. One hundred percent of the questionnaires were returned. A complete description of the sample, as well as a copy of the data-collection booklet can be found in Appendix A. The following table shows the distribution of the subjects in the two schools.

1. In China, there are two kinds of high school. One is called ordinary school, enrolling ordinary students. Another is called key school, enrolling students with excellent academic achievements.

TABLE 4.1 THE SUBJECTS OF THE THREE CLASSES

Class	Gender	Frequency	Percentage
I (junior in Guangzhou)	F	28	57%
	M	21	43%
II (senior in Guangzhou)	F	20	39%
	M	31	61%
III (senior in Nanchang)	F	19	37%
	M	33	63%
	F	67	44%
	M	85	56%
Total	N	152	100%

4.2.2 THE SELECTION OF THE MOVIES

The two favourite films, Three Decisive Campaigns and Jurassic Park, were selected from 204 movies and televised fictions in consideration of different genres and cultures. The sampling actually ranked Three Decisive Campaigns first, the percentage being 48% (73). The second favourite movie is Zhou En-lai, a feature film about the late Chinese premier. Sixty-two subjects, accounting for 41%, chose it as the most favoured. Jurassic Park ranks the fifth in the sample, but in the junior class it ranks the first, accounting for 91.8% (n = 49).

There are some differences between the subjects of the two schools in choosing their favourite fiction. Generally speaking, the subjects from Guangzhou City have much more chance to see movies from the USA, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. For example, in the Guangzhou middle school, among 136 fictions mentioned by the juniors there are 28 foreign films (including those from Hong Kong and Taiwan), accounting for 14%. In the senior class of Guangzhou City, the percentage of foreign fiction is even higher, 25% (35 out of 137). But in the Nanchang County middle school, the percentage of foreign fiction is only 3% (4 out of 127). This phenomenon reveals that Chinese tradi-

tional culture and values will experience more challenges from foreign cultural influences. However, it should be emphasized that the domestic fiction still accounts for a very important proportion. The percentages are 86% (junior class, Guangzhou City), 75% (senior class, Guangzhou City), 97% (senior class, Nanchang County) of films and television programs mentioned. The percentages of heroic fiction are 33% (junior class, Guangzhou City), 37% (senior class, Guangzhou City), and 69% (senior class, Nanchang County). The percentages of science fiction are 8% (junior class, Guangzhou City), 8% (senior class, Guangzhou City), and zero in the Nanchang County senior class.

Let us look at the six favourite movies. These were chosen as the favourites by more than one third of the sample (n = 152). One is a science-fiction movie from the USA, four are domestic heroic films and one is feature fiction from Taiwan about the family tie. The four heroic films are Three Decisive Campaigns, Zhou En-lai, Jiao Yu-Lu and Tunnel Warfare. Three Decisive Campaigns shows how Mao Ze-dong and his generals defeat Chiang Kai-shek in the civil war of 1948-1949. Zhou En-lai is a feature film about the life of the late premier. Jiao Yu-lu, based on a real head of the county in Henan Province in the sixties, talks about how Jiao devoted himself to the interest of the CPC and the people. Tunnel Warfare is about the heroes in the anti-Japanese war. The following tables explain the results of the sampling in the three classes.

TABLE 4.2 THE FICTION MENTIONED AND THE GENRE

Class[2]	I (junior)	II(senior)	III (senior)
Domestic			
Frequency	108	102	123
Percentage	86%	75%	97%
Foreign			
Frequency	28	35	4
Percentage	14%	25%	3%
Heroic			
Frequency	46	50	88
Percentage	33%	37%	69%
SF[3]			
Frequency	12	11	0
Percentage	8%	8%	0%

Table 4.2 shows that domestic fiction accounts for an overwhelming proportion of the adolescents' preferred films and television shows. But the difference really exists between the two schools. For the subjects of Nanchang County, the rate of seeing domestic fiction is very high, accounting for 97%, of which 69% is heroic fiction. Nobody named a science fiction show. By contrast, the subjects in Guangzhou City named more foreign and science fiction. The percentages of heroic fiction is much lower than in the first school. This suggests that indigenous values still prevail in Chinese society, and that the change will occur when teenagers get more chance to see exotic models.

2. Class I and Class II are the two classes in Guangzhou City. Class III is the senior class in Nanchang County.

3. SF stands for science fiction.

TABLE 4.3 THE SIX FAVOURITE FICTIONS FOR THE THREE CLASSES

Title	Frequency	Percentage	Heroic	SF	Others
Three Decisive Campaigns	73	48%	x		
Zhou En-lai	62	41%	x		
*[4]Mom, Please Love Me Once More	62	41%			x
Jiao Yu-lu	55	36%	x		
*Jurassic Park	51	34%		x	
Tunnel Warfare	51	34%	x		

Table 4.3 shows that in the six favourite fictions of all subjects, four movies are heroic, one is about the family tie, one is a science-fiction movie. The table also reveals that heroic fiction dominates the teenagers' movie and television shows. This phenomenon suggests that some heroic qualities, especially such traditional values and beliefs about public opinion, benevolent governing, and social achievements are still considered as the important values in their repertories. It might further be inferred that family value and knowledge are also important values from the viewpoint of the teenager.

4. The asterisk means that the movie is either from the USA, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. The film of Mom, Please Love Me Once More is from Taiwan, Jurassic Park is from USA.

TABLE 4.4 THE THEMES OF THE SIX MOVIES

Title	Justice	Family	Alien
Three Decisive Campaigns	x		
Zhou En-lai	x		
*Mom, Please Love Me Once More		x	
Jiao Yu-lu	x		
*Jurassic Park			x
Tunnel Warfare	x		

Table 4.4 shows that in the six favourite movies the theme of justice is very important. It suggests that for Chinese teenagers, the issue of social order has the highest valence, a result consistent Li Bo-shu's research on the values of Chinese adolescents. This reveals the cultural difference in Chinese society.

TABLE 4.5 THE CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SIX MOVIES

Title	Conflicts	Redundancy	Salience
Three Decisive Campaigns	x	x	
Zhou En-lai	x	x	
*Mom, Please Love Me Once More	x	x	
Jiao Yu-lu	x	x	
*Jurassic Park	x		x
Tunnel Warfare	x	x	

The ground for the criteria of salience, redundancy and conflict is illuminated by Bandura's study on the properties of modelled activities (Bandura, 1986, p.51). Salience and complexity are two criteria used by Bandura to explain the influence of the model characteristics on modelling behaviour (ibid.). Salience means "vivid enactments" and "the expressive fashion" by which the behaviour is presented (ibid.). Complexity refers to complicated forms of modelling (ibid.). In my study the criterion of salience is used to classify the content characteristics such as themes and plots, especially their related values. Redundancy is used as the opposite criterion. The criterion of conflict, which means the thematic conflict, is the third, since in a movie the complexity of the model largely depends on the complex of thematic conflicts. I used these three criteria to explore the relation between the content and model selection.

Table 4.5 shows that one vital characteristic is redundancy in content and its related elements like theme, plot and their presented values. It suggests that a particular society preserves its cultural legacy by repeatedly providing similar value models for its members. It can be further inferred that value learning is

mainly a redundant process, which not only might satisfy teenagers' social needs, but also might satisfy their affective and aesthetic needs. The claim that redundant value models have affective and aesthetic valences can be demonstrated in the reasons the subjects gave in their questionnaires. The detailed examples are cited in chapter seven. The second content characteristic is salient. Adolescents like salient movie shows because they have higher aesthetic and informative valences than redundant movies. Even so, it hardly is concluded that salience movies would fundamentally influence value acceptance at the very beginning of vicarious learning. In the questionnaire, the subjects do not mention their moral and ideological preference. This suggests that salient movie models would greatly influence the dissemination of new values and ideas, but the process of value acceptance might also be the process in which a salient model is gradually transformed into a redundant model, as more experience in viewing this kind of model is gained. For example, for subjects in Guangzhou, Jurassic Park was a salient movie at the first showing. But it might not be a salient movie for American children, who have more experience in viewing dinosaur movies. These two content characteristics demonstrate the difference in the two stages of model learning, model selection and modelling. In addition, conflict is the third content characteristic. A movie with conflicts is complicated. A complicated model can satisfy teenagers' cognitive needs. These three content characteristics are vital to modelling.

TABLE 4.6 THE SIX MOVIES PREFERRED BY THE JUNIORS IN GUANGZHOU (N=49)

Title	Frequency	Percentage	Heroic	SF	Other
Jurassic Park	49	91.8%		x	
*Mom, Please Love Me Once More	22	44.9%			x
Three Decisive Campaigns	20	40.8%	x		
Shao Lin Temple	20	40.8%	x		
*Future Soldier	19	38.8%		x	
Jiao Yu-lu	14	28.6%	x		

Table 4.6 shows the difference between the age groups. Science fiction is one of the most favoured genres for junior subjects. This kind of fiction has equal valence to the heroic fiction for them. It can be inferred that knowledge is considered one of the most important values for juniors.

TABLE 4.7 THE SIX MOVIES PREFERRED BY THE SENIORS IN GUANGZHOU (N=51)

Title	Frequency	Percentage	Heroic	SF	Other
Zhou En-lai	29	56.7%	x		
Tunnel Warfare	19	37%	x		
*Top Gun	18	35%	x		
*Survivors	17	33%	x		
Three Decisive Campaigns	15	29%	x		
Shao Lin Temple	14	27%	x		

By contrast, table 4.7 shows that none of the science fiction is considered the favourite by the senior subjects. All six films are heroic films, which strongly suggests that heroism and social achievement are the most important values for seniors.

TABLE 4.8 THE SIX MOVIES PREFERRED BY THE SENIORS IN NAN-CHANG (N=52)

Title	Frequency	Percentage	Heroic	SF	Other
Three Decisive Campaigns	38	73%	x		
Zhou En-lai	31	58%	x		
Jiao Yu-lu	29	56%	x		
Dong Cun-rui	29	56%	x		
*Mom, Please Love Me Once More	28	54%			x
Shang Ganling	23	44%	x		

Table 4.8 once again shows that the heroic fiction is the preferred fiction regardless of age, region and social status.

4.2.3 THE GROUND FOR CHOOSING THE EPISODES AND IMAGES

The choice of the episodes and images of the two movies for analysis (in chapter five) is based on the following ground. First and foremost, the events and images repeatedly emphasized in the movies should be considered first, because these reflect particular prevailing values, social conventions and beliefs in a given culture. The second ground is from the subjects' preference as shown in the reason part of the questionnaire, since a study of adolescents' responses should reveal the general tendency of their values.

4.3 THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE ANALYSIS

This section presents the main concepts which I use in the study in order to provide a better understanding of the research approach.

Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis has been an effective method for semioticians to study films and televised programs. Its subject is the study of narrative structures and the activity of narrative comprehension. Narrative analysis focuses on the interaction of the various strata of the narrative work, distinguishing such elements as story line and plot structure, the spheres of action commanded by various characters, the way narrative information is channelled and controlled through point-of-view, and the relationship of the narrator to the inhabitant and events of the story-world. The canonical versions of narrative analysis deal with the structural characteristics or regularities that all narrative forms have in common, regardless of medium. Narrative analysis also specifies the ways in which actual narratives differ from one another (Stam, Burgoyne, Flitterman-Lewis, 1996, p.71).

Modelling

Modelling is defined by Bandura (1986, p.48) as a "generic term used to characterize the psychological matching process". According to the form in which models are presented, there are behavioural, verbal, and symbolic modelling (Bandura, 1986). Symbolic modelling, transmitted by books, computers, and mass media, is the main conveyer of values, thoughts, and behaviour in the modern telecommunications society. According to Bandura, modelling has five kinds of effects: observational learning effects, inhibitory and disinhibitory effects, response facilitation effects, environmental enhancement effects, and arousal effects (Bandura, 1986, pp.49-50).

Values

Values are the "internal sources of guidance" that give people direction in their lives and "drive satisfaction" from what they do (Bandura, 1977a). Beside the separation of "instrumental values" from "terminal values", Rokeach suggests that values also have a "personal focus", "social focus", "moral focus", and "competence focus" (Rokeach, 1973). This definition sug-

gests that one of the most important functions that values serve is to provide "standards" that guide behaviour in various ways, such as guiding the way in which we present ourselves to others (Goffman, 1959), using social comparison as a basis for judging our own conduct and the behaviour of others (Jones & Gerard, 1967), and providing the "rationalizations for thoughts and actions that would otherwise be personally and socially unacceptable" (Feather, 1975, p.8).

Values have their cultural origin. Society, through its social practices such as control systems, religion, education, literature, arts, ideology, imbeds the common values in its members. These values are those idealized by a society, based on the "social censures" (Sumner, 1990) or "social conventions" (Bandura, 1986). The study of value modelling should thus take account of how social censures and the common values justify particular thoughts and actions both in the visual models and in the modelling process of the viewers. My study is mainly concerned with the first part, and gives an account of the relations between both social censures and the common values and dragons myths, literature and mass media, and of the narrative factors which influence value communication.

Reinforcement

That actions are influenced by their effects has been proved by many psychologists (Skinner, 1967, 1974; Bandura, 1962, 1969, 1986, etc.). Outcomes, including the external, vicarious, and self-created, determine behaviour largely through the reinforcers of reward or punishment (Bandura, 1986). The classic concept of reinforcement, construed in the feedback theories, is defined as the effect of outcomes upon behaviour by satisfying or reducing a physiological drive (Hull, 1943; Dollard & Miller, 1950). Bandura's research emphasizes the importance of human cognitive capabilities, especially self-regulatory and self-efficacy abilities, for the function of reinforcement (ibid.). Bandura sees reinforcement as having three kinds: external, vicarious, and self-reinforcement. Each kind has positive and negative reinforcers. External reinforcement by the outcome of enactive behaviour takes the form of material, social, verbal, physical, and psychological reward or punishment, while vicarious and self-reinforcement, largely through the vicarious outcomes of others, produce the anticipated reward or punishment. The former is the basis of the latter; the latter transcends the former, and explains why the same reinforcer can function as a reward to one person, but as a punisher to another. In addition,

reinforcement is influenced by its frequency, magnitude and contingency. An analysis of the outcome reinforcement created by the main characters in the two movies takes these three aspects into account.

The vicarious reinforcement presented in the value models is one of the determinants of modelling. As mentioned in the previous chapter I divide vicarious reinforcement into "textual reinforcement" and "incentive reinforcement". The present study is mainly concerned with how textual reinforcement strengthens the efficacy of the models in the movies and televised programs. My study sheds some light on the influence of narrative on modelling.

Binary Opposition

Binary opposition is an important concept of Taoism in the form of Yin and Yang. Chinese artists have a tradition of using the binary way of expressing their aesthetic and moral meanings. Recently, many Western semioticians have assumed that the concept of binary opposition is helpful to understand the meanings of narrative (Berger, 1992). Lévi-Strauss was the first anthropologist to study the binary structure beneath the elements of the myth. Eco (1979) suggests an analytical method of narrative structure at five levels, and puts the binary oppositions of characters and values at the first level. Berger (1992) analyses the bipolar oppositions of character, plots and theme in some hard-boiled detective novels and science fiction. Their works show that binary opposition is a useful concept for the study of narratives.

Formulas

A formula was initially defined by Cawelti (1971) as "a conventional system for structuring cultural products. It can be distinguished from invented structures which are new ways of organizing works of art" (1971, p.29). Formulas, from Cawelti's perspective, are important in understanding the meanings and values conveyed in narrative because they are tied to "specific countries and periods of time and have a much more narrowly defined repertory of plots, characters and setting" (cited in Berger, 1992, p.30). Cawelti adds:

"My argument, then, is that formula stories like the detective story, the Western, the seduction novel, the biblical epic, and many others are structures of narrative conventions which carry out a variety of cultural functions in a unified way. We can best define these formulas as principles for the selection

of certain plots, characters, and settings, which possess in addition to their basic narrative structure the dimensions of collective ritual, game and dream" (ibid., p.33).

Formulas involve the following elements of texts (Berger, 1992, pp.31-32). They are time, location, heroes, heroines, villains or false heroes, secondary characters, plot, theme, costume, locomotion, and weaponry. In my study I give a detailed description of how visual models work in the viewing process through these formulaic elements, especially characters, to convey socially approved values.

Rationality

"Behaviour may be socially prohibited for reasons of either convention or morality" (Turial, 1977; ref. Bandura, 1986, p.291). The first criterion for an effective model is that the modelled event should conform to the viewer's social conventions and values, that is, the narrative in which a movie model works should give sound reasons for its own dramatic assumptions. These "good reasons" play a role in assessing the event modelled, act as a "gatekeeper", and are "warrants for belief and action" (Fisher, 1987).

Rationality is determined by how important and serious the rationalizations presented in a narrative are for the viewers. In my study those consistent with the social conventions and idealized values in a certain society are the first priorities in model selection, while the others are the informative, aesthetic, affective valences. They provide one of the three premises for the transformation of a character into a value model.

Reality

Reality means "the image of reality" or "virtual reality" (Shapiro & McDonald, 1995) provided by film and televised characters or computers. To some extent, the image of reality is the product of reality; it reflects some prevailing social conflicts, values and ideology in a particular society. Meanwhile the creative product of a drama writer and director also can create reality by its powerful modelling influences, since it always transcends the reality of the society. Generally speaking, there are three approaches in film theory which take the image of reality as their focus. The Marxist theory emphasizes the ideological aspect of the society which gets the image of reality situated.

Conventionality theory pays more attention to the audience familiarities. Structuralism offers a profound study of the style and form of the text (Stam, Burgoyne, Flitterman-Lewis, 1992; Nöth, 1990). In my study these three aspects, as well as narrative plausibility, are all taken into account in order to present a relatively clear picture of how "film as a rhetorical device" (Harrington, 1973) uses its "imperfect reflection of reality" (Ulrich, 1986) to convince its viewers of a "real story", and thus to influence their modelling. The reality of a character is the second premise for a character to be transformed into a value model.

Efficacy

Efficacy is mainly determined by the "outcome functions" (Bandura, 1986) of the model. Outcomes are very important for model selection and matching because they function as the incentives for information, emotion and motivation (ibid.). The motivating function of the outcome largely depends on the reinforcing results the character creates; the frequency, magnitude, and contingency of the reinforcement presented in characters' consequences are the vital factors for modelling. The present study tries to classify those issues in the narrative analysis of the main characters' outcomes in the movies considered.

Genre

Genre defines what kind a text is or should be, how it is created and how it functions for audiences. Genre also shapes our expectations of what films or television shows we will see will be like (Berger, 1992, p. xiii). In modelling, genre influences what kind a value model in the form of a character is, how it is presented and why it can be modelled. The study of genre is now becoming increasingly interesting to scholars who study popular culture and the mass media (ibid.). In my study an analysis of the formulaic elements, the Proppian functions, binary oppositions, and values shows that genre does play an important role in model building.

Motif

A motif was defined as the smallest recognizable element of content in a tale (Holbek, 1987, p.452). It differs in various genres. The influence of a motif on

modelling derives from its relationship with agent, action and outcome in a particular genre. This study explains these aspects in the movies considered.

Narrative Role

A narrative role was defined as the position of a character in a narrative (Holbek, 1987, p.453). In vicarious learning, it is similar to a social role in respect of providing particular knowledge of norms. This study shows that the transformation of various narrative roles can offer the viewer this information about the social norm, the vicarious reinforcement experience, and the behavioural contingency.

Character

A character is defined as a dramatis persona capable of filling one or several narrative roles; also called an actor (Holbek, 1987, p.451). Characters, especially main characters, are one of the focuses in this study, because a particular value model built in a film must be actualized by a specific character. This study concerns how a character functions as a value model in communicating the shared values, conventions and beliefs of a particular society, and why it can be accepted by the teenagers in the sample.

Theme

A theme is defined as the relation or interaction between narrative roles (Holbek, 1987, p.453). It also differs in various genres. What kind of theme a film has can influence what kind of character, narrative role, and related value to be presented.The following table shows the concepts applied to the analysis of the movie model in the form of the main character in the two movies preferred by Chinese adolescents. The analysis covers the three levels of text, structure, and logic. Each level is analysed by means of the following concepts.

THE CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSING MOVIE MODELS

1 TEXTUAL LEVEL

Formulaic Elements
Values & Conventions

2 STRUCTURAL LEVEL

Proppian Functions
Binary Oppositions
Values & Conventions

3 LOGICAL LEVEL

Reality
- Social Relevance
- Audience Familiarities
- Narrative Plausibility

Rationality
- Prevalence
- Information
- Aesthetics
- Affection

Efficacy
- Reinforcement
- Frequency
- Magnitude
- Contingency

4.4 THE ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES

After selecting the two favourite movies and defining the terminology, the second step is to make a narrative analysis of them, concentrating on the textual, structural and logical levels which constitute a narrative world for characters, and on the related issues of narrative, values, modelling and culture. The reason is that any visual model is presented in the form of a character. Characters, especially protagonists, have powerful influences in modelling. It should be emphasized that the present analysis only focuses upon the most impressive linguistic and narrative actions of the main characters, and the images which reflect the culturally significant qualities of heroes and false heroes in a given society. These linguistic and narrative actions apply to the dialogues and the Proppian functions. The reason for choosing them is illustrated in the earlier part. A semiotician would argue that the film-text is not as "quotable" as the literary text, as it is a medium entailing all five tracks: images, dialogues, noise, music, and written materials (Stam, Burgoyne and Flitterman-Lewis, p.56). But there is no question that the behavioural and visual functions presented in characters' conversations, actions, and images are the first priorities for both social theorists and semioticians.

4.4.1 THE TEXTUAL LEVEL

The first procedure is analysis of the textual level. This focuses on the main characters in each movie and the values and social conventions they communicate. The analysis is highly sensitive to the effect of binary oppositions upon value communication reflected in the relationships between characters and between characters and other formulaic elements in the form of dialogues and images. The purpose of this procedure is to find out how a character acts as a value model in a visual narrative and what its textual characteristic is considering its value conveyance.

In the first movie the attention is first on the counter-images of city and countryside, their related social segmentation and values. It then shifts to the counter images of costume, locomotion, weaponry applying to the hero and false hero and their values. Finally it is largely on the counter-events and counter-images concerning Mao Ze-dong and Chiang Kai-shek, Mao's generals and Chiang's generals, Mao's soldiers and Chiang's soldiers, Mao's relation with the people and Chiang's relation with the people. The value issues mainly concern

the four pairs of binary oppositions between a hero and a false hero because they are impressively underlined in the film. The four pairs of binary oppositions are:

+Mandate of Heaven	vs.	-Mandate of Heaven
+public opinion	vs.	-public opinion
+competence	vs.	-competence
+morality	vs.	-morality

In the second movie considerable attention is on the binary oppositions concerning cloned dinosaurs and humans and the related values, as well as the social and psychological meaning of dinosaurs as aliens. The analysis of the setting is concentrated on the binary oppositions presented in the counter-images of inside vs. outside and safety vs. danger. Another highlight is the binary oppositions presented in the counter-images and events concerning the attitudes of the main characters towards the ethics of bioengineering and the rescue of the two children. The value issues centre on the three pairs of binary oppositions emphasized in the film:

responsibility	vs.	irresponsibility
moderation	vs.	greed
morality	vs.	immorality

4.4.2 THE STRUCTURAL LEVEL

The second procedure is to analyse the structural level of each movie. This is concerned with the twelve Proppian functions and their relations to binary oppositions, genre and values. The discussion of the generic difference in the three narrative rules, the motif and the cliches serves the purpose of finding out the function of structure and genre for value communication and modelling. In this part extensive attention is paid to the counter-actions (functions) of the heroes and false heroes. In the first movie, efforts are centred on the core function: ascend vs. descend, and in the second movie, on survive vs. die. In addition, the binary oppositions explore the basic actions, thematic conflicts, goals and the self-evident logic of heroes and false heroes. The purpose of this exploration is to discover the relationship between genre, the plot pattern, value presentation and modelling. Hence the cause and effect linkage of action, morality and reinforcement is one of the focuses at this level.

4.4.3 THE LOGICAL LEVEL

The third procedure is the analysis of the logical level, focussing upon the questions of how a character displays model learning, and how this can be validated as a value model. The answer to the first question lies in the analysis of the character's function on gaining knowledge of role norms, vicarious reinforcement experience and the behavioural contingency through the transformation of narrative roles and the linkage between characters' actions, situations and outcomes.

The answer to the second question is the main point of this section. The evidence of the three premises of reality, rationality and efficacy draws from the analysis of the character's social, semiotic and psychological factors and the reasons given by the subjects in the questionnaire. As for the premise of reality, efforts are centred on the factors of ideological relevance, audience familiarity and narrative plausibility and their influences upon the rendering of a "real" model to the viewer. The premise of rationality is concerned with analysing the influences of the factors of social prevalence, functional valences of information, aesthetics and affection on the viewer's judgement. The premise of efficacy is centred on analysing the outcomes of the main characters and their reinforcement function.

In the first movie the analysis of the three premises focuses on the following related issues: Mao Ze-dong's thought as the prevailing social ideology, social order and heroic intervention, masculine heroism, casting, functional valences found in the sampling, the reinforcing outcomes of the main characters. In the second movie, the concern is the relevance of the movie with the prevailing social phenomenon of abusing bioengineering, scientific plausibility as applied to cloning dinosaurs, science-fiction Gothic cliches such as dystopia, the philosophical thinking in the movie about human and nature, the conventional and psychological meaning of dinosaurs for teenagers, salience and functional valences found in the sampling, and the reinforcement characteristics in the outcomes of the main characters.

4.4.4 THE LINKAGE OF NARRATIVE AND CULTURE

The fourth procedure is analysis of the linkage between narrative and culture. A deeper exploration is concerned with the cultural influences on the ways the narratives are presented in these two movies. Particular attention is given to the

cultural differences hidden in the focus on presentation means. These differences include values, the way of thinking, social conventions about human, nature and society, and the use of such film language as symbols and indexes. The purpose is to explain an extensive relationship between narrative, modelling and culture.

5 THE TEXT: FORMULAIC ELEMENTS AND VALUES

This chapter contains a narrative analysis of the two movies preferred by the teenagers sampled. The analysis concentrates on the textual level, namely, the relationship between text elements and their value conveyance, the issue being how characters act as value models. Special attention is given to the binary oppositions existing in the antagonism between heroes and false heroes, and their function in value communication. As I mentioned in chapter four, the analysis is centred on the most impressive images and dialogues particular to a given culture, regardless of other film languages such as voice, music, and written materials. Since analysis of this level actually covers both dimensions of text and structure, a strict demarcation between them in the analysis is almost impossible. The division made here is to present the discussion more clearly.

5.1 THE TRILOGY THREE DECISIVE CAMPAIGNS

5.1.1 MAO ZE-DONG AND HIS IDEOLOGY

An ideological analogue to Mao Ze-dong's ideology in the movie is quite clear since Chinese Communist arts take the Marxist doctrines that "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" and that the dominant class succeeds in instilling its ideology into all other classes as a vital principle (Marx, 1974, p.64). This section presents such a connection between the values communicated in the movie and the prevailing ideology existing in Communist China, in an attempt to elaborate the notion that the ideological function is the most important in a film. This guarantees the reality and rationality of visual models by proving relevance between viewers, media, and society.

The guide of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is officially described as Marxist theory, which "is composed of Marxist dialectical materialism, historical materialism, political economics, scientific socialism and Mao Ze-dong's thoughts" (Deng Xiao-ping, 1994, p.42). According to this theory human

development from primitiveness, through slavery, feudal, and capitalist societies to socialist and ultimately to communist societies is a fixed pattern. It is believed that in a capitalist society there are only two major antagonists, i.e. the bourgeoisie or capitalist class and the proletariat or working class, and that in the struggle between these two, the proletariat will win in the end and create a new society of their own: the socialist society (Mao Ze-dong, 1967, pp.612-613).

Chinese Communism, in essence, is Maoism, which is different from traditional Marxism and Leninism. Mao Ze-dong, because of not mastering any foreign languages, read a very limited number of translations of Marxist and Leninist works in his time. Edgar Snow mentioned in his book that Mao referred only to The Communist Manifesto, Kautsky's Class Struggle and A History of Socialism, which had made important impressions on him (Snow, 1968, p.153). According to Holubnychy, the four volumes of Selected Works of Mao Ze-dong only "included 4 percent of all references and quotations from Marx and Engels, compared with 18 percent for Lenin and 24 percent for Stalin (cited from Chai, 1972, p.4). This means that Maoism is much more Chinese than Marxist. The most important concepts influencing Mao's ideology were Marxist "class struggle" and Leninist "totalitarianism". Mao combined them with the essential ideas of Confucianism and Taoism.

Mao's dialectal materialist philosophy originated from Confucianism, which viewed man as a social-moral being and central to the physical world, and man shaping and being shaped by both his human and non-human environment. But, inherited from the idea of Book of Change (one of the Confucianist classics) and Taoism, and integrated into the Marxist "class struggle", Mao's ideology defined "contradiction" as inherent in both human and natural worlds, instead of the "harmony" advocated by Confucius. Probably this idea also derived from his rich knowledge of our history, as Mao Ze-dong spent much time reading our classics, especially the books about the rise and fall of the dynasties. In Mao's opinion, "class struggle" was viewed as the main dynamic for the development of history and society (Mao Ze-dong, 1965). From this point of view, he maintains, "opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is the reflection within the Party of contradiction between classes and between the new and old in the society" (Mao Ze-dong, 1965, p.316). In the movie the idea of class struggle is the highest priority. At the beginning of the movie, the narrator tells the viewers that "the three campaigns are the decisive fights between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie" (Time: 0:00:12, the first part of The Liao Shen Campaign).

The second similarity was the important influence of moral education on the social order. Mao Ze-dong advocated the moral-political orientation of education created by Confucius, taking it even further during his reign. He maintained that "politics is the commander, the soul in everything" (ibid., p.340). In this sense, "education" includes both formal and informal education in the Party, the army and the country. Since 1929 he had launched several ideological campaigns in the Communist Party to correct some mistaken ideas, such as "pure military viewpoints", "ultra-democracy", "individualism", and so on (ibid., pp.105-116), the largest of them being the "cultural revolution" from 1966 to 1976. In the PLA (the People's Liberation Army) he advocated "ideological education" such as "the movement for pouring out grievances (the wrongs done to the labouring people by the old society and by the reactionaries) and the three check-ups (on class origin, performance of duty and will to fight)" (ibid., p.214) to heighten morale. After 1949, Mao Ze-dong universalized the ideological education used before in the Party and Army to every citizen. He asserted that this was imperative for fortifying socialist ideas against capitalist and feudalist thoughts (Mao Ze-dong, 1967). During the period of the "cultural revolution", politics and ideology entirely replaced economics, arts, and education.

In the movie, there are some impressive examples to emphasize the importance of moral political education for winning the war, such as ideological education by arts (Time: 0:12:10, the first part of The Liao Shen Campaign; Time: 1:03:15, the first part of The Huai Hai Campaign), political mobilization of soldiers (Time: 1:21:19, the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign) and the ceremony of joining the Communist Party (Time: 0:38.50, the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign).

Furthermore, Mao Ze-dong developed Confucius' notions of the "Mandate of Heaven" and "public opinion". His idea of the "mass line" (ibid.) is still an essential principle of the CPC. The movie spares no effort to stress this idea. Lin Biao, a commander-in-chief in the Liao Shen campaign and vice-chairman of the CPC in the sixties and the beginning of seventies, described Mao's theory as "the theory of people's war" (Lin Biao, 1965, pp.41-42). Mao understood the relation between the ruler and the masses simply from the numerous historical events. He emphasized the importance of the people in winning power. He was excellent at mobilizing the working people to defeat

his enemies, whether in the civil war against President Chiang Kai-shek or in the "cultural revolution" against his rival, President Liu Shao-qi. In his works, he repeatedly emphasized this point and claimed that his Party and army "are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests" (ibid., p.177). Thus public support is another highlight in the movie. There are many examples to show how common people help the PLA win the war (Time: 0:15:59, the first part of The Liao Shen Campaign; Time: 0:13:12, the first part of The Huai Hai Campaign; Time: 0:18:33, the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign; Time: 1:20:31, the second part of The Ping Jing Campaign, etc.).

The three decisive campaigns (1948-1949) were fought under the command of Mao Ze-dong. He conceived the operations for each campaign, aiming at completely wiping out the KMT's (Kuomintang, the National Government ruled by Chiang Kai-shek) troops. These operational concepts led to success. In fact the campaigns proceeded even more smoothly than expected. The victory not only shook the rule of Chiang Kai-shek, but also provided a solid foundation for Mao's absolute authority in the Communist Party. The movie Three Decisive Campaigns has a strong ideological valence to Mao's ideas of class struggle, popular will and the commandership of politics. Obviously this ideological valence bears the clear imprint of its cultural legacy.

5.1.2 A NOTE ON THE MOVIE (A Film of the August First Studio, 1992)

Main Cast
Gu Yue (Mao Ze-dong); Su Lin (Zhou En-lai); Zhao Hen-do (Chiang Kai-shek); Guo Fa-zeng (Liu Shao-qi); Liu Huai-shi (Zhu De); Ma Shao-xin (Lin Biao); Liu Xi-tian (Chen Yi); Fu Xue-cheng (Liu Bo-cheng); Lu Qi (Deng Xiao-Ping); Xie Wei-chai (Shu Yu); Xu Zheng-yuan (Du Yu-ming); Li Ding-bao (Fu Zuo-yi).

Credits
Military advisers, Zhang Zheng, Yang Guo-yu, Shu Jing, etc; Production design, Xu Huai-zhong; Screenplay, Wang Jun, Shi Chao, Li Ping-fen; General director, Li Jun; Chief directors, Yang Guang-yuan and Huang Ji-wei; Directors, Wei Lian, Jing Mou-kui, Zai Jun-jie, Chai Ji, etc; Music, Shi Wan-chun, Wun Tao; Cinematography, Xiao Mu; Cutting, Nie Wei-guo, Zheng Shi-ying; Editors, Kang Li-wen, Liu Xiao-shan; Costume, Sun Yu-shu; Producers, Zhao Xue-ha, Yuan Nai-qi, Wang Chun-li.

Three Decisive Campaigns is a trilogy consisting of three two-part films, with the purpose of celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. The movie was made in 1991 by the August First Film Studio of the People Liberation Army. President Jiang Ze-ming wrote the

name for the movie. It was first presented in 1992 as an important political education film.

The movie tells about the Chinese civil war fought between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China during 1948-1949, three years after Japan declared unconditional surrender. The three decisive campaigns are the Liao Shen campaign, the Ping Jing campaign and the Huai Hai campaign. In these three campaigns, "which lasted four months and nineteen days, 144 divisions (brigades) of the KMT regular troops, and 29 divisions of its irregular troops, or more than 1,540,000 men in all, were wiped out. The campaigns virtually annihilated the crack troops on which the Kuomintang relied and greatly speeded the victory of the CPC in the war" (Mao Ze-dong, 1965, p. 1278). In the movie nearly all the leaders on both sides are represented.

5.1.3 A SYNOPSIS OF THE LIAO SHEN CAMPAIGN

The Liao Shen Campaign is the first of the three, fought by the Northeast People's Liberation Army headed by General Lin Biao in the western part of Liaoning Province and in the Shenyang-Changchun area between 12 September and 2 November, 1948. On the eve of the campaign, the total strength of the KMT forces in the Northeast consists of four armies. They have shortened their lines and dug themselves in at three sectors isolated from each other, Changchun, Shenyang, and Jinzhou.

The movie begins with Mao Ze-dong, the leader of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the General Commander of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) with his generals Zhou En-lai, Ren Bi-Shi and bodyguards on his way down the Yellow River to link up with the troops led by Generals Zhu De and Liu Shao-qi in the village of Xi Bei Po, Hebei province, where Mao and his generals (Zhu, Zhou, Liu, Ren) established the general headquarters of the Central Military Committee for the civil war against the KMT Army. Mao Ze-dong states in a telegram that the capture of Jinzhou is the key to the success of the campaign. General Lin Biao, considering his troops at a disadvantage, does not at first obey Mao's command to attack Jinzhou, a very important strategic link between the Northeast and North. The movie develops along two main story-lines. The first is the conflict between Mao and Lin on the issue of whether or not to attack Jinzhou; the second is how Chiang Kai-shek reacts to the campaign and loses it.

Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of KMT and the president of China, disagrees with the American suggestion that the KMT troops should retreat from the Northeast. He assigns the commissar Wang to get advice from the war criminal, the former general commander of the Japanese Aggression Army in Man Zhouli. On the other hand, he flies twice within two weeks to Shenyang (the city near Jinzhou) to supervise the campaign.

There is fierce fighting between the two sides. After 32 hours Jinzhou is captured by the PLA. After taking Jinzhou the PLA immediately swings back to wipe out Liao Yao-xian's units. Thus the forces of each side undergo a great change. The PLA increases in number from 2.8 million to 3.1 million, while the KMT army decreases in number from 3.15 million to 2.9 million. The movie ends with the whole of the northeast captured, and more than 470,000 KMT troops wiped out (Time: 0:03:01, the second part of The Liao Shen Campaign).

5.1.4 A SYNOPSIS OF THE HUAI HAI CAMPAIGN

The Huai Hai Campaign is the most fierce and critical of the three because both sides deploy all their main forces. The Campaign takes place over much of the Huai Hai area in Jiangsu, Shandong, Anhui and Henan Provinces, targeting the city of Xuzhou, a key place for hegemony in many historical wars. There is a great disparity in strength of the two sides. On the side of KMT, Chiang Kai-shek manoeuvres 800,000; on the side of CPC, 600,000.

The main offensive forces of the PLA are the two field armies commanded by generals Liu Bo-cheng, Deng Xiao-ping, Chen Yi and Shu Yu. Considering the disadvantage in number, the commanders of the front follow the order of Mao Ze-dong and make two vital steps to disrupt the KMT's battle disposition. The first is that the campaign is advanced to 6th November, 1948, only three days after the end of the Liao Shen campaign. This is not expected by Chiang Kai-shek and his American advisers. They thought that the PLA would have needed at least two months for rest and reorganization. The second is to block the KMT troops from moving to Xu Zhou from the previous north-eastern battlefield in order to isolate the Xuzhou defence forces. Thus the campaign is divided into three stages for wiping out the three crack armies headed by Huang Bo-tao, Huang Wei, Qiu Qing-quan.

Chiang Kai-shek appoints General Du Yu-ming Deputy Commander and urges his three other main forces to arrive in the Xuzhou area as soon as possible.

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He also dispatches his wife to the USA for military aid (Time: 0:23:19, the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign). Chiang's plan fails. His wife's American mission fails too, and his main forces are surrounded by the PLA.

The Campaign lasts sixty-five days, from 6 November, 1948 to 10 January, 1949. It ends with the great triumph of Mao over Chiang. Most of the commanders of the KMT are captured or killed, and even Deputy Commander Du Yu-ming becomes a prisoner of war. The film uses Starling's commentary (Time: 1:27:48, the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign) and a field study by American military researchers (Time 1:27:54, the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign) as the concluding remarks to emphasize the wisdom and unity of Mao Ze-dong and his generals, and the bravery and sacrifice of his soldiers.

5.1.5 A SYNOPSIS OF THE PING JING CAMPAIGN

The Ping Jing Campaign tells about the fighting around the city of Tianjing and its environs near Beiping, the old name of Beijing during the reign of the KMT. Comparatively, the Ping jing campaign is much less fierce than the previous two, as Beiping is peacefully surrenderd to the CPC. Chiang Kai-shek, suffering heavy losses during the previous campaigns, is about to withdraw all his troops in the Ping Jing area to the south bank of the Yangtze River. But he is convinced by Fu Zuo-yi, the commander-in-chief of the area, that the defensive campaign of Ping Jing is the best way to block the PLA marching on the South, and that the Ping Jing area is the best place for the troops to be evacuated by sea or by land in case the campaign fails.

The film then centres on how Mao Ze-dong and his generals make a tit-for-tat strategy to smash Chiang and Fu's arrangement. They command their armies to capture Tianjing, cut the retreat routes and isolate Fu's troops in Beiping. They also arrange for Fu's daughter and his subordinates to persuade Fu to give up Beiping. The Ping Jing Campaign ends with the peaceful capture of Beiping, and with the absorption of Fu Zuo-yi's troops into the PLA.

5.1.6 SETTINGS, LOCATION, AND THEIR VALUES

Three Decisive Campaigns is set within the strong contrasting location between the countryside and the city. For the CPC the locations are usually small villages, towns and countryside. For the KMT they are the capital city, some big cities and their environs. Historically, the representation of social upheavals (power struggles) and social order enforcement in China is fundamentally also the representation of achieving political power by armed force by conquering the cities from the countryside.

The City. It seems to us that the Chinese fascination with the city, especially the capital city, expresses a deep sense of ambivalence. The city has long represented the site of aspiration, achievement, prosperity, wealth, elitism, and power, as well as corruption, degeneration, sin, and disorder. The city, usually the capital, takes on a mythic identity in the histories (Shi Feng-yi, 1989, pp.74-77). The most alluring and representationally potent places in the city are the Imperial Palace, which is regarded as the most mysterious, powerful, privileged and magnificent (Fan Wen Lan, 1965). As the emperor is compared to the dragon, the palace is the dragon residence. Thus what happens in the palace becomes the most curious, remote, and fantastic to the common people.

As Aristotle noticed, tragedy involves the fall of a "great man" (ref. Spark, 1992). The monarch's mystery means the death and loss of a great ruler. Generally speaking, ordinary people are curious about how the ruler lives, have a desire to snoop (voyeurism), and this is satisfied particularly well by the monarch's story, because of revelations about ugly things such as sexual liaisons, dishonesty, skeletons in the closets and political tricks. From these revelations about the immoral monarch people both gain satisfaction of their curiosity about the royal classes' lives and find the answer for their moral demand: why are they dethroned? Thus in viewing they are actually experiencing a moral exploration by comparing the hero and false hero in the four aspects of the values presented, the rationalizations they used, their reality, and their reinforcing consequences.

In the movie the unique size of the city and its geographical and social segmentation, its scale as a container of power and wealth, and especially its luxurious elitist life make it a place for empowerment, authority and sovereignty. The movie shows that President Chiang Kai-shek spends most of his time with his wife, children and generals in the capital city, other big cities and their suburbs, such as the astronomical museum, amid beautiful scenery,

gardens, airports, the president's residence and the headquarters. He often contemplates the city and worries about losing it. He knows that his opponent, Mao Ze-dong, also keeps an eye on the city. The city thus becomes an alluring concept and focus for the viewers. The plot, characters and social order enforcement become a part of its aesthetic and its grandeur.

The sphere of action of the false hero in the movie is thus contained in particular sites within the cities, and the locus of the narrative characteristically describes his journeys between them. If a general pattern can be drawn from Chinese historical movies and novels, it is one which either begins with a mysterious and magnificent location (palace), moves outwards to poor, familiar countryside scenes or vice versa, but certainly ends the narrative with the loss of the city (Fan Wen-Lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978).

The city has other special meanings for Communist movies. From the early stage of the Communist Party, founded in 1921, until 1949 when the Party took power, the city was always connected with the tragedies abounding in those days when workers, patriotic students, professors and liberated women fought with their bare hands against local warlords and government foreign policy. A number of Chinese Communist movies take some important events of the urban revolution as their topics, such as the May 4th Movement in Beijing, or the Shanghai Conference of 1921, at which the CPC was founded. In these movies the city means setback and failure, but is full of adventure and is fascinating.

The distribution of opposed settings is a basic feature of narrative development in Three Decisive Campaigns. It particularly conforms to Chinese traditional aesthetic principles: "The positive opposes the negative; existence relates to non-existence; and the image relates to the moral value" (Ge Rong-jin, 1991, pp.107-112). In many instances it seems to be premised upon some basic oppositions between the unknown and the known, indoors and outdoors, private and public, elite and commoners. The president's palace and Mao's residence are the unknown and private space but also an exploration of the "real" moralities of heroes and false heroes. In presenting the settings the narrative develops through personal affronts and moral conflicts around the seizure of power, laying the ground for a very direct and intense antagonism between a hero and a false hero, morality and immorality, empowerment and being deposed.

The Countryside. A hero (a sage) however, from time to time goes on a journey to different places in the countryside before he becomes a ruler. The countryside seems to be able to carry a number of different significances in Chinese culture. It is a place of the masses (not the elite), familiarity, cordiality, poverty, hardship and purity, and a place in which stout-hearted, honest, hardworking, kind, brave peasants inhabit.

Countryside emphasizes that the hero is placed at a disadvantage, and his authority and sovereignty are not recognized generally and officially. However, in many historical books, movies, and television dramas, countryside is presented as the cradle of a newborn political force which will triumph over the old, decaying ruling force (Fan Wen-lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978). It indicates popular sentiment and public feeling, since China has been an agricultural country for a very long time. In this sense, it is the place in which the hero (the sage) gets the Mandate of Heaven, because, in Confucius' opinion, the Mandate of Heaven relies on the masses, that is, "Heaven sees through the eyes of its people; Heaven hears through the ears of its peoples" (ref. Guo Qi-jia, 1987, p.228).

The countryside plays a very important role in Chinese Communist movies. The plots are always located in the great expanse of the rural areas with their mountains and rivers, loess plains and sorghum fields, rugged terrain and earthen caves. The narrative develops, and the virtues of the hero are stressed through the distribution of settings. The sphere of action of the hero in the dramas is thus contained in particular sites in the countryside, such as peasant-style houses, courtyards, forest, mountains, hills, beaches, etc. The delicate arrangement of the settings of the countryside in narrative indicates that the hero is close to the common people, and lives a simple life as a common peasant. Thus the hero knows their sufferings, hardship and bitterness. Naturally he desires to take the responsibility for saving the people from the cruel reign of the immoral ruler. Finally the narrative ends with the hero occupying the city, a symbol of power and authority.

In Three Decisive Campaigns, the small village of Xi Bei Po with its unusual position in the war is a highlight for the viewers. Its natural and pure surrounding, the simplicity and frugality of the office, and the stone mill outside Mao Ze-dong's house are presented not only by a series of deliberate shots, but are also accompanied by commentary. These impress the viewers deeply and convey a strong political and value meaning by their sharp contrast with the settings of the capital city in which Chiang Kai-shek lives.

TABLE 5.1.1 THE BINARY VALUES AND SOCIAL SEGMENTATION PRESENTED IN THE SETTINGS.

The City and Its Suburbs	The Countryside
The Zi Jin Shan astro-nomical museum	The Yellow River
The president's residence	Xi Bei Po village house
Beautiful scenery	Courtyard
Big temple	Stone mill
Imperial Palaces	Forest
The Great Wall	Hills
Airports	Lakes
Social Segmentation	**Social Segmentation**
The ruler	Rebels
Royal families	Peasants
Authorities	
Business tycoons	
Highbrows	
Commoners	
Criminals	
Values	**Values**
Powerful	Subordinate
Advantageous	Disadvantageous
Privileged	Humble
Bureaucracy	Multitude
The few	The masses
Wealthy	Poor
Luxurious	Simple
Comfortable	Hard
Corrupt	Pure
Mysterious	Familiar
Decayed	Primordial
Immoral	Moral

5.1.7 COSTUME, LOCOMOTION, WEAPONRY AND THEIR VALUES

Costume, locomotion and weaponry are important means film-makers use to express the personalities and values of the characters, and to strengthen the aesthetic, psychological and ideological effects of the film. In this sense, the weapon, vehicles, clothing styles, fabric, even the colour the film-makers choose for particular characters are deliberated on.

The choice of costume for characters could be limited to different times, customs, social ranks, genre, even involve taboos. In Chinese monarch societies, the costume with a five-fingered dragon was an exclusive prerogative of the emperor. Commoners violated this taboo at the risk of their lives. In the Tang dynasty (618-907), Chinese women preferred to wear low-collar dresses to expose their necks. But if it happened in the Qing dynasty (1616-1911), they would have been punished (Yang Xiang-kui, 1989). However these limitations also teach us to distinguish different genres of films and televised programs and to cherish different plot expectations. When people see a hero in the film wearing a cowboy hat, they know it is a western, and the plot usually involves gunfights between the hero and the corrupt sheriff or villain and the restoration of law and order. Meanwhile the experience people get from costume in films also has its effect on the reality of visual models. They might judge the visual model as "real" or "not real" by the hints offered by his or her clothes.

But film-makers still have a certain leeway to create their characters by means of costume. In Three Decisive Campaigns, there is a striking contrast in costume between what Mao Ze-dong and Chiang Kai-shek wear. Their costume significantly indicates their identity, characters and values. Chiang, as the president, dresses himself very formally on public occasions. He prefers wearing the traditional long robe made from silk. This gives him an orthodox and conservative image. At the inaugural ceremony Chiang and his wife both wear black national costume, which impresses us deeply with their legality, authority and grandeur. On the moral level, the delicate clothes they wear also produce an image of luxury and degeneration. By contrast, Mao Ze-dong is a revolutionary leader. His authority is not recognized legally. His life is certainly much simpler and harder than Chiang's. In the movie he always dresses himself in a plain and casual way. He never wears the traditional costume.

This portrays him as a revolutionary having the virtues of persistence, resolution and thrifty.

By the same token, the locomotion and weaponry Chiang's and Mao's lines use in the movies also have value significance. Chiang and his generals often use aeroplanes and luxurious cars. His army is equipped with more modern weaponry. But Mao and his generals take jeeps and trains. The PLA has much poorer weaponry and equipment. This distribution of weaponry and locomotion, as well as costume, emphasizes the particular values mentioned above. It also arouses the viewers' curiosity about why and how Mao, at such a disadvantage, can triumph over Chiang. The viewers thus justify the rationalizations presented in the models and try to find the answer for themselves.

In short, the formulaic elements express value meaning. Some basic values are repeatedly communicated through each element. The formulaic elements of costume, setting, weaponry, locomotion, plot, theme, and characters thus transmit meanings and values redundantly. The attribute of redundancy, remarked on this multicommunicative process, makes visual models more effective and powerful for value learning, because it can strengthen the memory of the viewer. This point will be discussed again later.

5.1.8 CHARACTERS AND THEIR PRESENTED VALUES

Hero And False Hero. The antagonism between a hero and false hero is a reiterated topic in the Chinese monarch culture. It always centres on the four conventions: conformity to or betrayal of the "Mandate of Heaven", benevolent rule or harsh rule, morality or immorality, competence or incompetence by the multiple relationships between the hero and false hero, the hero and heroine, the hero and his helpers, the false hero and heroine, the false hero and his men.

Any film art is produced by the four factors of social politics, psychology, techniques and economy (Monaco, 1981, p.12). The primary function of the antagonism between a hero and false hero is to meet the need of social politics. This criterion especially fits the Chinese case, since Chinese culture is characterized by its ethical-political orientation as I mentioned in Chapter three. Thus, through the antagonism between a hero and false hero, the narrative reduces the complex social conflicts to personal ones in an attempt to sublimate "potentially disruptive public hostilities" by creating scapegoats (Klapp, 1954, p.61). The narrative, also through binary oppositions between a hero and

false hero in values, personalities, morality and their destinies, shows the public "what are the shoulds" or "should nots", "why they are shoulds" or "should nots". Hence popular media render them manageable and available for consensual judgement, "familiar to all and indicating proper modes of response" (ibid., 1954, p.57). In this sense, heroes and false heroes are first and foremost "sanctions" (ibid., 1954, p.56). These characteristics mean a lot to modelling in the viewing activity. The following section provides a detailed description of them.

Another significant feature of Chinese heroes is presented in their helpers. In Chinese narrative a hero has helpers of one sort or another: people, magic weapons, dragons, gods, spirits, animals (sometimes all of them), and these helpers support the hero in his fight with the false hero (an immoral monarch), and enable the hero to triumph. False heroes, of course, have helpers too. They can get all the helpers mentioned above except the people. The big difference is that a sage can get the committed support of his people; by contrast, the false hero will lose his people. This Confucianist tradition is over-elaborated in Chinese narratives (Yang Xiang-kui, 1989). In Three Decisive Campaigns, this idea is much strengthened through a series of deliberate shots. This genre convention offers a sound justification of the values presented in both hero and false hero. Evidence can be found in the later analysis of the samples in this study.

Mao Ze-dong As A Traditional Sage. There is a strong connection between heroes in modern culture and in ancient myths and monarch literature. This section shows how the movie uses the image, commentary, and conversations in a binary way to stress Confucius' ideas of the Mandate of Heaven, benevolent governing, support of the people and the traditional personal virtues of a sage. Ancient sages like Emperor Huang, Yao, Shun, Yu, are given the Mandate of Heaven; so, importantly, is Mao Ze-dong in Three Decisive Campaigns, an idea overwhelmingly stressed in the movie.

The Liao Shen Campaign begins with the Yellow River melting from the ice and surging away (time: 0:27:54). This image has a multiple cultural meaning. "Yellow" here not only means the colour of the river water dyed by the Yellow Plateau, but also means the holy colour associated with dragons, monarchs, and Heaven. The Yellow River has long been regarded as the holiest and most mysterious river. It snakes like a dragon between mountain barriers before it flows northwards, then flows southwards for about 320 kilometres in the east of Shanxi Province, then eastwards for another 320 kilometres, and then

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diverging in a northeasterly direction towards the Gulf of Jiao Dong, in which Peng Lai Island (a holy dwelling place for Taoist saints) is supposed to be situated. It was believed that the Yellow River had a celestial origin. Those sages who desired to obtain a glimpse of paradise sailed up the river to its source. Some reached the longevity tree and the garden of paradise. Other found themselves sailing across the heavens. In Chinese myths some sages, such as Emperor Huang, Yao, and Wu Di had followed the course of the Yellow River, then along the "Milky Way", the source of the River, to the celestial paradise (Tao Yan & Zhong Xou, 1990, pp.374-375; Mackenzie, 1994, p.148)

On the other hand, the Yellow River is the cradle of the Chinese nationalities and culture. Chinese civilization was originally born there. In this sense, it is the witness of Chinese history. Because of these cultural meanings, it is associated with Heaven, the dragon, the monarch and public opinion. Therefore any changes in it could be a sign of the Mandate of Heaven. The metaphor of the flow of melt water conveys the obvious political implication that Mao Ze-dong is authenticated by the Mandate of Heaven, and is destined to win the war.

The idea of the Mandate of Heaven is well expressed in Mao's vicariously playing the roles of Emperor Huang and dragon. The first episode is about the conversation between Mao Ze-dong and his generals, Zhou En-lai and Ren Bi-shi at the beginning of the Liao Shen Campaign. The second is about Mao recalling his childhood with his friend, Xiao San.

EPISODE 1 (From the first part of The Liao Shen Campaign. Time: 22:54)

Mao: "En-lai, Bi-shi, we are leaving from Shan Bei in such a hurry".

Ren: "It is said that she (Yellow River) is the cradle of the Chinese revolution. I think it is the cradle of our culture as well."

Zhou: "Chairman Mao, when we come back, we should visit the West Corridor, the Tomb of Huo Qiubing[1] and the Forest of Steles in Xi An."

Mao: "At least we should visit the Tomb of Emperor Huang and offer a sacrifice to our ancestor."

EPISODE 2 (From the second part of The Liao Shen Campaign. Time: 1:19:20)

Mao: "When we were in Yue Lu Academy of Classic learning, you did not know that I used to undress myself and run up to the hill of Yue Lu when thunderstorms came at night. The night was so dark, so was the forest. When there was lightning I saw my body, it was so pale."

Xiao: "I have read in some foreign books that many generals, marshals and explorers used to torture themselves in order to temper their will. They did so in their childhood in an attempt to conquer the world when they grew up."

Mao: "Yes, the darker the night was, the more intense my desire was. My feet were cut by stones but I did not feel pain. I was just absorbed in running ahead as if the hill of Yue Lu were under my feet, as if I were the whole world. While running I was shouting and shouting, oh! ah! oh! ah...!"

In the dialogue, a binary link between Mao and dragon is clear. The binary oppositions are obvious in key correlations between (1) Mao's appearance and reality, (2) authentication of Heaven and success. The opposite words are "day and night", "dressed and naked", "earth (mountain) and Heaven", "high and low", "black and white (pale)", "open and closed", "run and fly (the hill under the feet)", and "thunderstorm and fine weather".

As we already know, a dragon is always connected with water, thunderstorm and rain. Mao Ze-dong preferred rain too. He used to be naked when a thunderstorm was coming at night. Here "night" and "dark" indicate Mao's psyche. And "undressed" and "thunderstorm" have their special psychological meanings in vicarious dragon role playing, that is, being strip-ped of the incarnation of the human and returning to the original holy creature. In myths, dragons always disguise themselves as human beings, carp, horses, pine trees, and so

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1. Huo Qiu-bing was a famous general in the Han dynasty (140-96BC). He helped the Emperor conquer Xiongnu and expelled them from China. Here Zhou En-lai's vicarious role-playing is clear.

on (Tao Yang & Zhong Xiu, 1990). When a dragon takes off its disguise, a thunderstorm bursts forth in fury. The thunder bellows, the rain pours down, and the dragon spits out flashes of lightning with its fiery tongue, which makes the claps of thunder (ibid.). Like a dragon stirring in the sky to release a thunderstorm, Mao Ze-dong felt that he was the real master of the human world who commanded the political wind and clouds, claiming "I am the whole world!" There is no doubt that as a dragon he welcomes and embraces thunderstorms, rain and lightning, but a common human being cannot but be scared by them. It should be noticed that a mountain also has a celestial meaning in the Chinese culture. According to the historical records, some emperors had climbed up to the Tai mountain to offer their Thanksgivings to Heaven (Fan Wen-lan, 1965). To some extent, the mountain is like a bridge linking Heaven and earth. It is a holy place where the emperor worships Heaven since the emperor is considered the son of Heaven. The following table shows the binary oppositions between Mao and dragon.

TABLE 5.1.2 THE BINARY OPPOSITIONS OF MAO AND DRAGON

appearance	reality
body	psyche
human	dragon
day	night
earth	Heaven
low	high
white	black
open	closed
dressed	naked
fine weather	thunderstorm
run	fly

These patterns can be further reduced to three abstract binary oppositions:

Mao	Chiang
+ Mandate of Heaven	- Mandate of Heaven
+ morality	- morality
+ success	- success

Apart from Mao acting out the role of the dragon, his generals also consider him as a holy creature. The following episode is about general Pen De-huai's criticism of his subordinate, who put his picture on the wall of the meeting room.

EPISODE 3 (From the second part of The Liao Shen Campaign. Time: 0:57:30)

Pen: "Whose portrait should be put up?"

--: "Chairman Mao's and ..."

Pen: "There is another portrait which I don't recognize, a person with a square face, a big head and a short but a sturdy neck. Who is he? I think nobody is willing to look at such a portrait."

--: "General Pen let me explain ..."

Pen: "Chairman Mao's portrait must be put up. Could others' be put up arbitrarily? Now that you've put up my portrait, how dare I attend the meeting?

Second, the movie elaborately describes how the common people support Mao and his army to fight against Chiang. There are rich examples, which stress the point from different angles, for instance from the people's side, the KMT's side, or in the commentary. Episode four is about how ordinary people help the PLA build the defence work before the Ta Shan Battle, the most fierce one in the Liao Shen Campaign. Women even bring their wooden trunks for resisting bullets. At that time wooden trunks were considered as the most precious things in ordinary families. A PLA soldier is astonished, and asks:

EPISODE 4 (From the first part of The Liao Shen Campaign. Time: 0:15:59)

-- What a pity it is if these wooden trunks are broken by bullets!

-- You don't even care about your life. Compared with your life these are nothing.

Then the woman, finding that his face is frostbitten by the cold weather, takes off her scarf and puts it around the soldier's neck.

The next episode deals with hundreds of common people working on the supply lines for the PLA. The movie uses the following commentary and a series of deliberate shots.

EPISODE 5 (From the first part of The Huai Hai Campaign. Time: 0:13:12)

In the three-year liberation war, there are 54.3 million men and women working on medical and food supply. They guarantee provisions of the PLA by means of 790,000 stretchers, 880,000 one-wheel carts, 760,000 donkeys and oxen, and 300,000 shoulder-poles. In the liberated areas the slogan "Losing the family fortune to support the front" is everywhere. The late vice prime minister

Chen Yi said: "the victory of the Huai Hai campaign is on the wheels of carts pushed by the people."

Then the scene (time: 0:13:10) turns to night bombing by the KMT aircraft. Many people die but the others are not scared. They bury their family members, put on mourning clothes and continue to push their carts, women and children among them.

The use of figures, bombs, night, men, women, the old and young, as well as mourning clothes produces a powerful political and ethical message: that is, Mao and the CPC are fighting on the behalf of the people. The scene also arouses strong emotion when the viewers see many people die from bombing and hear the sound of children crying. That emotion in turn requires the narrative satisfying their ethical expectation for social censures: the good will win, but the bad will lose and be punished. The binary oppositions in Episode five are shown in the following table.

TABLE 5.1.3 THE BINARY OPPOSITIONS PRESENTED IN EPISODE 5

men	women
adult	children
old	young
night	day
cart	shoulder-pole
armed soldiers	unarmed commoners
peace	bombing
life	death

The reductive pattern is:

Mao	Chiang
+ public opinion	- public opinion
+ morality	- morality
+ success	- success

In The Huai Hai Campaign there are two episodes about a soldier, Din Xiao-er, who is a linesman in the army of KMT, and later crosses over to the PLA. Two prize-giving ceremonies show the contrast in ideology and values. The following dialogues are presented in the ceremony in which the KMT commander is going to award him a medal for his excellent work:

EPISODE 6 (From the first part of The Huai Hai Campaign. Time: 0:37:11)

-- No, I don't want it.
-- You are a hero but also a fool. You declined to receive the medal, what on earth else do you want?

Then Din Xiao-er takes the medal and the commander asks again:
-- What is your name?

-- My name is Din Xiao-er.

-- How did you join the National Army?

-- I happened to be selling eggs in the market when a military truck was coming. An officer on the truck asked me to lift my basket. In so doing I was dragged onto the truck and have become a soldier. (Loud laughter bursts out).

-- Award him the money we got from the fight.

In the second scene the commander of the PLA is awarding the medals to the former soldiers of the KMT. A dialogue occurs after the commander has got the report that Din Xiao-er, hearing of having been distributed land in his name in his home village, has crossed over to the PLA with his five comrades.

EPISODE 7 (From the first part of The Huai Hai Campaign. Time: 13:24)

-- You rendered meritorious service. I am awarding you a medal.

-- Medal? It is not so important. I have got one from the other side. The first thing for me is to change my uniform.

Then the commander takes off his own cap and puts it on the head of Din Xiao-er.

The binary opposition tells us that the soldiers of the PLA are volunteers, but most are forced to join the KMT army. Another example indicates the people's support at the end of The Huai Hai Campaign through a very impressive shot of horses running under the rising sun. Here the rising sun has a latent meaning for Mao, horses for his army and people. Horses have two cultural mean-

ings. The first has been connected with military force in some Chinese idioms, since in the Qin dynasty (221 BC) they had been used for military purposes.

That hundreds of sturdy steeds are galloping over the land conveys the political sense that under the leadership of Mao Ze-dong, the PLA, like galloping steeds, is marching on courageously and invincibly. Horses associate with public feeling and values originate from Chinses paintings (Ge Rong-jin, 1991). Some famous painters like Xu Bei-hong prefer to express political and moral values by the various poses of horses. A famous painting by Xu Bei-hong is "The Steeds", which mean people striving for freedom from an immoral ruler (ibid.).

Third, the movie pays extraordinary attention to Mao's talents, a virtue which has been emphasized in monarch myths. Mao's genius for command, his capacity for precise anticipation, and the personal characters of resolution, boldness, faithfulness, justice, magnanimity, and frugality are well expressed by providing the oppositions with Chiang Kai-shek in the formulaic elements. For instance, in The Liao Shen Champaign the plot develops around which side can discover the strategic position at Jinzhou and get it first. In this respect the movie emphasizes Mao's talents and Chiang's foolishness. In the movie there is a monologue about commander Wei Li-huan of the KMT praising Mao's talents:

EPISODE 8 (From the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign. Time: 1:20:01)

"Mao Ze-dong commands the army as if he wrote poems and composed verses on a given rhyme through unexpected and original conceptions. He picks Jinzhou as easily as using a tooth pick regardless of the cities of Changchun and Shenyan. Who on earth would have thought it?"

From this description, Mao Ze-dong and a traditional sage are very similar respecting the values associated with Heaven, justice and people. Their most similar personal characteristic is their masculine heroism, well expressed through the presentation of the masculine qualities such as talent, powerfulness, bravery, etc. Since in Chinese culture power worship is considered the most important merit for men, the most vital task for heroes is to achieve sovereignty (Da Xue, 1992). All hero adventures are thus about how they have experienced much hardship in various battles on the journey, how they act as a sage in public and private life, how they are recognized by their helpers and people because of their talent and virtues, and how they finally triumph over their adversaries.

Mao Ze-dong As A Modern Leader. In the narratives, Mao Ze-dong is different from a traditional sage in that, as a top leader of the CPC, he claims to be a Marxist, not a Confucianist, so do his generals and soldiers. In the movie, several episodes repeatedly express this idea. One typical example of these in The Huai Hai Champaign is the discussion between Zhou En-lai and Zhu De, who are the two of the five committeemen of the Central Committee of the CPC. The episode begins with Zhu De's recalling the day when he joined the CPC.

EPISODE 9 (From the second part of The Liao Shen Campaign. Time: 0:33:28)

Zhu: "Twenty-six years ago, the moon was as bright as tonight, the night we met in Bei Ping. We were talking while back and forth walking along the road. What a happy coincidence it is that we, twenty-six years later, are walking around the village where the Central Committee of the CPC is!"

Zhou: "Oh, This is the need of revolution. At first, it was Chen Du-xiou[2] not me...."

Zhu: " I had handed in my application to join the CPC, but he did not understand me well."

Zhou: "You had high prestige and a comfortable life in the National Army, but you gave them up and determined to pursue the truth of saving the country and people. I really do not understand why Chen Du-xiu refused your application."

Zhu: "You, more than ten years younger than I, acted as my sponsor for the Party membership. I was so surprised and touched at this, and got an extraordinary impression."

Zhou:"I joined the Party earlier than you did, but this does not mean that my political consciousness is higher than yours. After a year's careful observation and thinking, I have finally established my eternal belief, communism.

Another case in the drama is about Deng Xiao-ping and general Chen Yi. They recall the days they spent in France as students, and how they began to learn Marxism and took part in the Communist movements there, and how they were expelled by the government of France.

In the narratives there are quite a lot of instances which describe some high-ranking officials either in the KMT or who are the members of the CPC, as are their children, for example, the daughter of Chen Bu-lei, the adviser of Chiang

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2. Chen Du-xiu was the first chairman and founding father of the CPC.

Kai-Shek, and the daughter of Fu Zhou-Yi, the general of the North China Army of the KMT.

Because of the common belief and cause that Mao Ze-dong, his generals and soldiers share, the narratives rationalize the power struggle between Mao Ze-dong and Chiang Kai-shek as class antagonism between the proletariat and the capitalist.

Thus, on the one level, the narrative distinguishes a traditional individualist sage-emperor by the very nature of the regime. In so doing, the dramas disperse the focus between a relatively large number of contemporary celebrities to show their commitment to the people's cause and regime. Hence the big difference is that although the traditional sage-emperor also cares about the interest of the people, his real purpose is to maintain his own sovereignty. Instead, Mao Ze-Dong, as a modern political leader and representative of the proletarian class, transcends the individualist ideal and puts the class cause first. This point gives the narratives a very strong political colour, and indicates that morality and the concept of the person in modern times are more group-oriented than before.

On the other level, in order to fulfil the political task, the narratives not only praise Mao Ze-Dong's traditional merits required for the proper fulfilment of his role, such as talent, intelligence, frugality, bravery and so on highly, but also pay more attention to his modern virtues of egalitarianism and democracy, shown in the relationships with his helpers. Unlike a traditional sage-emperor, who adheres to the Three Cardinal Guides[3] for maintaining a hierarchial society, Mao Ze-dong prefers more equal and flexible relations with his generals, bodyguards and friends. For instance, in Three Decisive Campaigns, there are some striking episodes about this. Whether in the playground or on the drill field or in his office, Mao Ze-dong acts as a commoner, playing basketball, participating in target practice, and joking with his generals and soldiers. He is shown as cordial, humorous, and approachable. He likes to have a joke with his fellows. What is more, he respects the opinions of his generals and adheres the principle of democratic centralism in making important political and military decisions. In The Liao Shen Campaign one special

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3. The Three Cardinal Guides were prescribed by the Confucianist Scholar Dong Zhong-shu in the Han dynasty. They were ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife (ref. Guo Jia-qi, 1987).

scene about his meeting with his childhood friend, Xiao San, conveys such an idea.

EPISODE 10 (From the second part of The Liao Shen Campaign. Time: 1:21:26)

Mao Ze-dong is reading in his office when the journalist Xiao San comes in:

-- Chairman Mao.

-- Yes.

-- I am very sorry to have come to your office without your invitation.

-- It's ok. Let's have a talk. Otherwise, some people would say that Mao Ze-dong puts on airs and is difficult to approach, even for his old friend, Xiao San.

-- I know that you are just doing a favour done at little cost to yourself, because you are in a good mood from hearing of the victory of the PLA. Chairman Mao, let's go for a walk.

-- Ok; I think that you wouldn't write down what I say, would you?

-- Perhaps someone else might prefer to keep notes, for me, I'd like to just have a talk with you, Chairman Mao...

-- Don't call me Chairman Mao, it is not necessary, especially for you, my old friend.

-- If I call you by your given name, I would be criticized for being arrogant and conceited.

-- Oh, that's the tragedy of Mao Ze-dong.

In this dialogue, brimming with friendship, a new image of a political leader in modern times is presented. The hero's integrity is signified partly by his devotion to the class cause and duty, relegating his private and personal life to a quite unimportant position.

It should be noticed that the narrative, through setting the defiance of the hero (the rebel leader) against the false hero (the president), presents a serious issue in social order, war, and morality. The narratives want absolutely to convince the viewers that an ideal social order can be established by the use of violence and war, and that the world is only made safe and good by heroic intervention. This rationale is repeatedly elaborated in this movie. One impressive episode in The Huai Hai Campaign expresses this point. These speeches are by Mao Ze-dong and Jiang Kai-shek.

EPISODE 11 (From the first part of The Huai Hai Campaign, Time: 0:43:03)

Mao: The civil war has lasted more than two years. As a result, our army has been strengthened by numbers and experience. Now it looks like a concave lens on which light focuses, on and on, and finally starts a fire. The so-called strategically decisive campaign is to stake the fortune of the country and army. The word "stake" does not sound well but that is the reality....

Chiang: The year when the late premier[4] led the Northern Expedition we won a big victory. Ten years ago when I started from Xu Zhou City to the Second Northern Expedition, wherever the Army was, we were warmly supported by the people. It is as if the experience had come into my view again.

Another episode is at the end of The Ping Jing Campaign. Mao Ze-dong and his generals are on the way to Beijing to establish the capital of the people's republic of China.

EPISODE 12 (From the end of the second part of The Ping Jing Campaign)

Mao Ze-dong: Where are we going today? I feel as if we were going to pass an examination.

Zhou En-lai: I hope that we will get a good mark.

Liu Shao-qi: At least we must pass it.

Zhu De: Otherwise we have to return to Xi Bei Po village.

Mao Ze-dong: We have to succeed. We are not going to be Li Zi-cheng.[5]

The differences and similarities between Mao and the sage-emperor are evident. The following tables present the main points.

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4. The late premier was Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founding father of the KMT

5. Li Zi-Cheng was King Chuang, the leader of the peasant revolts which led to the overthrow of the Ming dynasty. Because of his arrogance, he was defeated by Wu San-kui, a Ming general, who colluded with the Ching troops in a joint attack (Chinese Historical Dictionary, 1991, p.763).

TABLE 5.1.4 THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MAO ZE-DONG AND A SAGE-EMPEROR IN THE MOVIE

Mao Ze-Dong	A Sage-Emperor
Proletarian Leader	Emperor
Class Interests	Both Individual and Group Interests
Communist & Confucianist	Confucianist
Egalitarian	Hierarchial
Democratic	Autocratic

TABLE 5.1.5 THE SIMILARITIES

Mao Ze-Dong	A Sage-Emperor
Conformity to the Mandate of Heaven	Conformity to the Mandate of Heaven
Humanity	Humanity
Wisdom	Wisdom
Courage	Courage
Righteousness	Righteousness
Faith	Faith
Patriotism	Patriotism
Diligence	Diligence
Modesty	Modesty
Magnanimity	Magnanimity
Frugality	Frugality

Chiang Kai-shek As A False Hero. In the movie Chiang Kai-shek has a luxurious life style as ruler of the country. He lives in the presidents' residence, flies from one city to another, and has very sophisticated taste in dress, food, and antiques. He has received both domestic and foreign education, as have his wife and his generals. He likes to be dressed in a traditional costume, enjoys watching his wife painting with Chinese brushes, but calls his wife "darling" in English, and celebrates Christmas with his family.

By contrast with Mao Ze-dong, Chiang Kai-shek is presented as a two-faced man. In public he pretends to adhere to the Three Principles of the People, i.e. nationalism, democracy, and social well-being, prescribed by Dr. Sun Yet-Sen. But in private he enjoys absolute power; for example, commands the national army, controls the economy, and wields power over the country in his own interest. He likes the hierarchical system, appreciates the principle of centralized authority which he learnt from the Confucianist heritage and Leninism (Fan Wen-lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978). He thus actually has the bully emperor attitude, preferring his subordinates and the crowd to bow to him and sing his praises and treat him as a dragon God. He considers this ritual as the symbol of power and holiness.

Like any historical emperor, Chiang Kai-shek takes the traditional Three Cardinal Principles, especially "Ruler guides Subject" as the golden rule. He believes that his sovereignty is from the Mandate of Heaven. A typical example occurs at the beginning of The Liao Shen Campaign, when Mao Ze-dong is contemplating the Yellow River; Chiang Kai-shek is in the Zi Jin Shan Astronomical Observatory in Nanjing talking about the ancient planetariums with his wife and grandchildren. Here the Astronomical Observatory represents both the location where the president lives, and his destiny of failure. As I mentioned earlier, in Chinese culture the changes of the sun, moon, stars, and other astronomical phenomena symbolize the change in the Mandate of Heaven (Tao Yan & Zhong Xiu, 1990, p.363). Since it is said that holy men and emperors are the incarnations of star-gods. If they die, the stars associated with them in a celestial region will fall down (ibid., p.363). So Chiang's ascending the Astronomical Observatory has strong political-cultural meaning in the narrative.

Like any immoral emperor of history, Chiang is a false hero, a man of no scruples in his private life. He is out for himself. In Three Decisive Campaigns

there are many instances of how corrupt, selfish, suspicious, and immoral he is. In order to maintain his rule, he secretly sends his man to get military advice from the Japanese war criminal, and even attempts to use chemical weapons forbidden by the International Treaty. He has never really cared about the interest of the people. Even his henchmen seem bred to his own specifications. He does not trust anybody but himself and is not true to his word; as a result, many of his officials and soldiers betray him. When he hears from his wife (the step-mother of his children) that his eldest son's financial reform and anti-corruption campaign will jeopardize his family interest, he prefers flying to Shanghai to persuade his son to abandon the reform, rather than to Beiping to command the attack on Xi Bei Po village. The following counter-event shows that even his henchman and advisor Chen Bu-lei has to commit suicide in despair after Chiang refuses his proposal for "gaining popular support". The values and morality of Chiang presented in the counter-episodes contrast sharply with Mao's.

EPISODE 13 (From the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign. Time: 0: 33:52)

Chen: I should have told you earlier, but...

Chiang: Please tell me what you think, and I don't mind your smoking.

Chen: Now what you are worried about is how to control the military situation. But as a ruler you cannot solve all social issues by military means. The fact is that you have to take measures to gain popular support as soon as possible. Popular support means everything. If you have it, you will have the morale of the army, manpower and material resources. Otherwise, all our wishes are built on sand.

Chiang: Gaining popular support is such a hot issue for the mass media.

Chen: Yes, the current social criticism is somewhat unkind and harsh. If we really do something for the people, and do make them feel the reality of the Three Principles of the People advocated by the founding father, Dr. Sun Yet-Sen, then the public feeling must be changed.

Chiang: What should I do?

Chen: Your Honour, you just consider me a dying fool, who is talking nonsense. Could Minister Song[1] and Prime Minister Kong[2] donate some money for the national cause, let's say 20 or 30 or even 50 million yuan? And could you and the first lady also ...

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1. Minster Song Zi-Wen was the finance minister of the KMT government. He was the elder brother of the first lady, Song Mei-Ling.

2. Prime Minister Kong Xian-Xi was the brother-in-law of the first lady.

Chiang: (Interrupts the conversation in anger by striking the table). It is too late, you'd better go and have a good sleep.

The next day Mr. Chen Bu-lei takes his own life.

In The Huai Hai Campaign another counter-event shows how Chiang Kai-shek plays double games with his generals. The following dialogue is between General Du Yu-ming and his subordinate.

EPISODE 14 (From the second part of The Huai Hai Campaign. Time: 00:7:18)

S: General Commander Du, I cannot understand why you do not take the second chance to go to Nanjing since the President has assigned the aeroplane to you.

Du: How can you imagine that I would still be alive if I was back in Nanjing? You see, the plane is here, but there is no Presidential Decree. The president warned me before that the Huai Hai campaign is a life-and-death struggle, and that when I leave the Xuzhou battlefield, is also the time I end my military life. Therefore, I see no way to retreat.

The similarities between Chiang Kai-shek and the immoral Emperor Zhou in the Shang dynasty are obvious. First and foremost, they both betray the Mandate of Heaven. They are evil and sinful. They will inevitably lose the support of the people, and finally lose their sovereignty. The rationale that the narrative gives the models has not been changed for almost three thousand years. It is evident that redundancy is an important characteristic of value models.

Let me conclude the discussion with a schematic suggestion of the polarity in values and personalities presented in the characters of Mao Ze-dong and Chiang Kai-shek by means of counter-events.

TABLE 5.1.6 BINARY OPPOSITIONS OF VALUES AND PERSONALITIES BETWEEN MAO ZE-DONG AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK

MAO	CHIANG
Conformity to the Mandate of Heaven	Betrayal of the Mandate of Heaven
Benevolent government	Cruel government
Humanity	Inhumanity
Talented	Inept
Vision	No vision
Just	Unjust
Incorruptable	Corrupt
Worthy	Bureaucratic
Egalitarian	Hierarchial
Trustful	Suspicious
Straightforward	Cynical
Resolute	Irresolute
Brave	Timid
Modest	Arrogant
Casual	Ritualistic
Frugal	Luxurious

The Values Presented in Mao's Line And Chiang's Line. In Three Decisive Campaigns we have three kinds of character: the hero and false hero, their helpers (generals) and commoners. The hero, false hero, and their generals belong to the elite and the ruling class. They are the persons of importance and influence in the society. We have quite a collection of such figures. On the CPC side, besides Mao Ze-dong, there are Liu Shao-qi, Zhou En-Lai, Zhu De, Deng Xiao-ping, etc. Some of them, like Liu Shao-qi and Deng Xiao-ping, later became presidents. Some like Zhou En-lai became prime ministers and ministers, while others became marshals. In the movie the relationship of the elite and the top leaders is given prominence. On the KMT side, it concerns the relation between the president and his ministers and generals. The narrative leaves much space to stress the binary oppositions of their attitude and values between the two sides. The schematic tables are shown below.

TABLE 5.1.7 THE BINARY OPPOSITIONS IN VALUES OF THE GENERALS

The CPC Generals	The KMT Generals
Optimistic	Pessimistic
Active	Passive
Cooperative	Competitive
Helpful	Destructive
Trustful	Suspicious
Loyal	Disloyal
Competent	Incompetent
Prudent	Imprudent
Humourous	Serious
Flexible	Rigid

TABLE 5.1.8 THE BINARY OPPOSITIONS IN VALUES OF THE SOLDIERS

The CPC soldiers	The KMT soldiers
Devoted	Irresponsible
Brave	Timid
Disciplined	Lax
Of high morale	Of low morale

5.1.9 THE CONCLUSION OF THREE DECISIVE CAMPAIGNS

Up to now I have discussed some striking binary oppositions presented in the formulaic elements of Three Decisive Campaigns. The point is clear. A text is constituted by its formulaic elements. They communicate values and meanings through a binary structure. Characters, especially heroes and false heroes, are the most important value-conveyers for vicarious learning. They communicate values by means of counter-events and counter- shots. Furthermore, every formulaic element is related to the other. They work together to communicate meaning and values by producing a visual model from a character.

Comparing the movie models Mao Ze-dong and Chiang Kai-shek with the traditional sage and the evil ruler in the literature, one obvious characteristic in the values communicated by models is that value models, in most cases, are redundant. It seems that redundancy is an essential attribute of the visual model on the textual level in respect of values. This characteristic can also be found in the other monarch narratives. A comparative table of the formulaic elements shows that redundant models are perhaps the most important for a society in preserving traditional values. Accordingly, it might be concluded that viewing a movie is to a large extent a redundant process in which the viewer repeatedly has certain socially approved values reinforced. Tables 5.1.8 and 5.1.9 show this.

It should be noticed that redundant models, beside their ideological valence, also have aesthetic, affective and informative valences for viewers. In the questionnaires, the subjects cited these four reasons for their preference. A discussion of them will be presented in chapter seven.

In Chinese culture, the most important qualities for a sage (hero) are: conformity to the Mandate of Heaven, benevolent government, competence and morality. These values dominate in monarch literature, myths and modern movies like Three Decisive Campaigns. The fact that the overwhelming majority of subjects show their preference for them indicates that they still prevail in the present society.

TABLE 5.1.9 BINARY FORMULAIC OPPOSITIONS IN THREE DECISIVE CAMPAIGNS

Formulas	Hero Model	False Hero Model
Time	1948-1949	1948-1949
Location	Countryside	Cities and their suburbs
Heroine	No presentation	A woman of an illustrious family
Secondary Characters	Generals and soldiers	Generals and soldiers
Plot	Restore justice	Hinder progress
Costume	Uniform and simple dress	Uniform and traditional silk dress
Weaponry	Artillery	Bomber gunboat tank artillery
Locomotion	Jeep train horse	Plane vehicles ship

TABLE 5.1.10 THE COMPARISON OF THE FORMULAS IN THE MOVIES, DRAGON MYTHS AND CLASSIC MONARCH FICTIONS

Formulas	Dragons	Classic Monarchs	Modern Leaders
Time	2500 BC and earlier	2000 BC-1911 AD	1911-1949
Location	Waters skies	Countryside vs. city	Countryside vs. city
Hero	Good dragon	Sage	Moral rebel Leader
False hero	Bad dragon	Immoral emperor	Immoral president
Secondary character	Gods in heaven	Generals masses	Generals masses
Plot	Restore justice	Restore justice	Restore justice
Costume	No dress	Traditional dress Uniform	Traditional dress Uniform western style casual
Weaponry	Natural phenomena fire, etc.	Sword spear arrow shield knife gun	Cannon gunboat vehicles plane ships

5.2 JURASSIC PARK (A Universal Film, 1993)

Cast
Sam Neill (Grant); Laura Dern (Ellie); Jeff Goldblum (Ian Malcolm); Richard Attenborough (Hammond); B.D.Wong (Wu); Samuel L.Jackso (Arnold); Wayne Knight (Nedry); Joseph Mazzello (Tim); Ariana Richards (Lex); Bob Peck (Muldoon); Martin Ferrero (Donald Gennaro).

Credits
Director, Steven Spielberg; Screenplay, Michael Crichton and Darid Koepp, from the novel by Crichton; Cinematography, Dean Cundey; Editor, Michael Kahn; Music, John Williams; Production design, Rick Carter; Dinosaur effects, Dennis Muren, Michael Lantieri, Stan Winston, Phil Tippett; Producers, Kathleen Kennedy and Gerald R. Molen.

5.2.1 A Synopsis of Jurassic Park

The film begins with the fierce attack of a Tyrannosaurus rex (T-rex) on a workman in Isla Nublar, Costa Rica, where Jurassic Park is located. The beasts are being transported in a cage, when one of them nearly escapes, dragging a worker into the darkness. The terrifying roars of the Tyrannosaurus rex and the shouts of the dying man are still threatening even after the animal is shot.

Donald Gennaro, a legal counsel for InGen, is assigned to meet John Hammond, the head of Jurassic park, at De Dio Amber Mine to discussing the security precautions because the investors are getting nervous at hearing that too many workmen have died. Unfortunately Mr. Hammond does not present himself because of some family business. At the mine a miner is showing Gennaro a big piece of amber which has been just found for cloning dinosaurs.

At Badlands near Snakewater, Montana, Alan Grant and Ellie Sattler are working patiently with a dental pick and an artist's brush. The weather is hot and dry, the land is barren, and the wind is whining. They are oblivious to the discomfort. Their entire attention is focussed on the exposed fossil of a baby carnivorous dinosaur. Grant, with a claw in his hand, goes to look at the computer screen and explains to the visitors what a velociraptor looks like and how it rips open its prey with its powerful claws, when a helicopter arrives. Hammond invites Grant and Sattler to pay a weekend visit to the park.

The site experts are the mathematician Ian Malcolm, palaeontologist Alan Grant and palaeobotanist Ellie Sattler. They, together with Gennaro and

Hammond, will see whether the park is safe to open to the public next year. Hammond sees no danger in the visit, so he also invites his grandchildren on the trip. The plane eventually lands on a volcanic rock thrusting up from the ocean floor, the island called Isla Nublar. On the way to the main building Grant, Sattler, Malcolm and Gennaro are badly shocked at the first sight of the medium-sized Brachiosaurus moving their long necks, peering alertly and making a low trumpeting sound.

The dinosaur, which dominated the world in the Jurassic period, became extinct 65 million years ago. Some dinosaurs like Brachiosaurus were huge, inoffensive vegetarians. The others were ferocious carnivores. The carnivorous Tyrannosaurus rex is described as the most intelligent and mightiest predator which the earth had known for millions of years. It ran at 96 km per hour, and destroyed everything it could. When the dinosaurs in the park have been created from the DNA in the blood of the mosquito which sucked the dinosaur and died in the drops of resin, human beings face their biggest life and death threat. Worst of all, the dinosaur is fertile, not as the bioengineers had expected. They hatch their eggs and attack humans to expand their territory, trying to get beyond the control of humans and all the barriers of modern technology. Thus there are fierce battles against the attack of the dinosaurs. The story ends with the survivors fleeing from the island.

5.2.2 SETTING, LOCATION AND THEIR VALUES

The settings and locales in Jurassic Park accord with the plot, theme, and moral meanings. As against Three Decisive Campaigns, whose settings oppose city and countryside, Jurassic Park has alien and remote locales which are the reverse of human society and the natural world.

First I would like to consider the palaeontological site and the amber mine. The site where Alan Grant and Ellie Sattler work is a lifeless place. There is not a tree, bush, or living animal. It has nothing but rock, barrenness, hot sun, and whining wind except a tent, some workers. The only attractive thing is the skeleton fossil of a baby Velociraptor. The site is depressingly bleak for the viewers. So is the amber mine. The miners work underground where there is no sunlight or living things, merely rock, earth, and decay.

In Jurassic Park there are two locales which are worth noting: the main building and the park environment. The main building includes the control room, the laboratory and a small dinosaur museum. The laboratory is full of different kinds of machines used in the processes of extracting DNA from the dead mosquitoes in amber and frogs to duplicate and clone the six species of dinosaurs. It also has a hatchery room in which the temperature is about ninety-nine degrees Fahrenheit and the air is damp. There are some incubators and big tables. On the tables are the artificially-bred dinosaur eggs. The control room is equip-ped with computers, TV cameras, motion sensors and other monitors for the security and working system of the park. The park's outside is an environment duplicating that in which the extinctive dinosaur lived in Jurassic times. The striking things outside are moats and high-tension wire nets, called by Hammond "condoms", to prevent the T-rex and Velociraptor from attacking men. The gate which keeps the carnivorous dinosaurs in is as huge as the one used to trap the monster in the film King Kong. Besides, the forest is dominated by the prehistoric predecessors of palm trees, called cycads, a favourite food of the dinosaurs. The park is thus not a real world at all. It is intended to be a controlled world that only imitates the natural world. In this sense, nature is manipulated to be more natural than the real thing. The narrative thus poses a striking bipolarity between the natural environment and the man-made theme park. The meanings and values are latent in such a comparison.

One important thing is that the park is established for commercial purposes. It is a theme park like Disney's and other amusement parks. The commercial value permeates in every element of the formula. The emphasis on commercial value is integrated with the ideas of Darwinism. This characteristic is quite consistent with the theme, as Jurassic Park is a movie about gene biology. In the film there are three scenes about the eating process serving as a link between modern humans and cloned dinosaurs. When the visitors watch an ox being fed to the T-rex in an unseen cage, they are thrilled at the horrifying sound of carnage in the foliage below (Time: 0:08:40). Just at same time, Hammond asks with a smile, "Who's hungry?" (Time: 06:29). In the dining room the visitors are being served with lamb sticks (Time: 0:05:30). Later, when Hammond is scared at hearing that his grandchildren are in danger of being attacked by dinosaurs in the jungle, he only sits at the table and devours the meal (Time: 0:43:03). A social Darwinist value is expressed by this contrast. The idea is that although humans and dinosaurs are superficially different, they are intrinsically similar. As humans live in a commercial

society, profit and money are vital means for their survival. This point will be discussed later in detail.

On the narrative level, the palaeontological site, amber mine, computers and laboratory are indispensable to the plot and theme. How could a gene-science fiction have no relation-ships with palaeontology, computers and lab? They are the modern technology for the creation of the dinosaur and the fiction. Meanwhile in an aesthetic sense, the palaeontological site, amber mine, labs and computers are from an alien world, a scientific kingdom. They are so different and remote from the daily human life. People find they are something mysterious, unfamiliar, and fearsome, but attractive and interesting.

On the value level, the palaeontological site and amber mine are associated with death and decay. As we know, palaeontologists study extinct animals. Amber contains insects embalmed in drops of resin. The cloned dinosaurs are thus created from death unnaturally and artificially. They are man-made monsters because their creation violates the divine law, let alone their evil nature. The artificial park expresses the illusion that the creators could control their creatures with the most advanced modern means and their super intelligence. But the lesson of the film is that man cannot control the dinosaur he creates. By creation, the creators actually kill God, our natural planet, and human beings themselves. The destruction of the park at the end of the story means a loss of Milton's paradise.

The distribution of settings is constitutive of narrative development, providing for the significance of what happens where and the values which the narrative sets out to achieve. In the movie, the *spatial contiguity* (Metz, 1982) mainly relates to the inside and outside settings to make the narrative shift from tension to relaxation. Through these two opposite focuses, the story occurs first in a temporal equilibrium state between the outside and inside, then in the dangerous outside but safe inside, finally in a chaotic state, that is, where both outside and inside are full of danger. The shift of these two binary settings conceals *intentio lectoris* (Eco, 1990, p.58) to get the spectators situated by a continual relocation and realization of a composite centre which accords with the centre of interest as defined by the narrative. Contrast between danger and safety generates the moral meaning through a transformation from the seen into a scene, space into place (Lapsley and Westlake, 1988, p.139), the spectator into the subject, and the viewer into the learner.

The bipolar concepts presented in the settings are:

nature	man-made
inside	outside
control	out of control
safety	danger
success	failure
morality	immorality

Compared with Three Decisive Campaigns, Jurassic Park emphasizes settings rather than characters, a striking difference between the two. As I mentioned earlier, the former movie takes the characters as the source of action, but the latter relies heavily on exaggerating the danger of the external environment and on provoking the viewer's imagination at the expense of inadequate characterization. Thus the emphasis on settings and external factors such as the environment in which the dinosaur once lived (Time: 0:20:36), the process of creating the dinosaur (Time: 0:29:38; 0:47:44), the physical characteristics and feeding habits of different kinds of dinosaurs (Time: 0:31:20; 0:35:34; 0:-46:17), the bad weather and the accident (Time: 0:14:16), is central to the projection and perception of reality, and to satisfying the viewer's desire for the unknown world and for moral demand by depicting conditions of danger or safety. This feature pays special attention to popularization of the scientific research, as Brode comments: "Spielberg's movies are like the rides in Disney's Epcot Centre: However well designed the roller coasters may be for providing thrills, they whisk the viewer past enough informational sights and sounds that it is virtually impossible not to learn something" (Brode, 1995, p.221). These characteristics are demonstrated by investigation of the survey reasons. In Jurassic Park the sample places an overwhelming value on knowledge and aesthetic valences.

5.2.3 COSTUME, LOCOMOTION, WEAPONRY AND THEIR VALUES

The costume, locomotion, and weaponry serve the purposes of the narrative and values the film-maker has designed. In Jurassic Park the costume is more flexibly chosen to express the personal characteristics of the characters than that in Three Decisive Campaigns, since in a film about the Chinese civil war, the army uniform is bound to be routine.

In Jurassic Park, the mathematician Malcolm's costume is impressive. He wears a black shirt, black jackets, black trousers, black socks, black sneakers, and even black glasses. His costume accords well with his "deplorable excess of personality" and rock star behaviour (Crichton, 1991). Obviously Malcolm is a positive model established by the film-maker in the biogenetic era. He is not like Hammond, who always lives in his dream, but a man of forthright opinions on society and with a critical eye for humans themselves. In this sense, the black costume signifies not only his deploring the arrogance of human beings and a pessimistic view of society, but also his serious defiance of human weakness and a meditative attitude towards life (Crichton, 1991; Clute & Nicholls, 1995).

Grant and Sattler belong among the pure scientists. But they are different from the academic dinosaur hunters and armchair theorists. Grant's jeans, work shirt and Sattler's midriff impress on us that they both prefer doing all the important work in palaeontology outdoors with their hands, and that Sattler presents the image of a modern Western woman scientist who is different from the beauties without heads in early science fiction movies (Clute & Nicholls, 1995). Grant and Sattler are the people of action and dedicate themselves to the profession they love. They are trustworthy. Without doubt they will help the children out of danger at the risk of their own lives.

Hammond wears a short-sleeved shirt, white trousers and white hat. He dresses as if he were on a purely social outing, not an investigation. His costume accords with his personality, a composite of childishness, flamboyance, arrogance and illusiveness (Brode, 1995). The white colour in which Hammond dresses contrasts with the black Malcolm prefers. It indicates the binary oppositions between the two characters at the level of personality, psyche and values. Besides, white colour also suggests innocence and purity. It gives Hammond a dual personality, a gold-rusher with a decent intention. Like a child, he made mistakes because of his eagerness to turn a dream into reality for children.

As for the locomotion and weaponry, the cruisers, helicopters and modern guns are the most advanced in our time. Advanced as they are, they can hardly help the characters by repelling the dinosaurs. This binary opposition arouses the viewers' curiosity about why the park cannot work, and who should take responsibility for the genetic gold rush. Through such questions they construct meanings and values from the narrative.

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5.2.4 CHARACTERS AND THEIR VALUES PRESENTED

Dinosaurs As Aliens And Villains. In Jurassic Park the dinosaur and man are the first and primary antagonism. Through creating the cloned dinosaur the narrator posed a set of binary oppositions of morality and immorality around the main conflicts of life vs. death, man vs. nature and man vs. himself. A dinosaur is an alien. According to Berger, "the term alien means, literally, no ties, no connections" (Berger, 1992, p.137), as dinosaurs had died out long before man existed.

Dinosaurs are divided into nasty meat-eaters and gentle "vegie" eaters. Carnivorous dinosaurs are considered physically disgusting. They have an ugly appearance with pale colour, offensive smell and terrible venom. The typical example is the Tyrannosaurus rex. It is twelve metres long. Its enormous square head is a mottled reddish-brown with huge jaws and fangs as terrifying as a vampire (Crichton, 1991). The Velociraptor is swift and a strong runner and astonishing jumper. It has lethal claws on all four limbs; one swipe of a forearm would disembowel a man, spilling his guts out. And it has powerful tearing jaws that rip flesh instead of biting it. It is cruel because it eats people or animals who are still alive. It is an instinctive hunter, and never passes up prey. It kills even when it is not hungry, but for the pleasure of killing (ibid.) In Jurassic Park it attacks everybody, even its feeders. The destructive nature of the dinosaur is similar to an evil dragon.

Dinosaurs are immoral and mean not because some of them eat humans, but because they are creatures cloned for profit from the DNA of the dead. The cloned dinosaur violates the divine law. It transcends death and control. In the natural realm, control is not too great a problem, for all living creatures have their own natural enemies. But what can we do with the cloned dinosaur, who has been dead for such a long time, yet comes alive from an alien world which we have never known, and can breed without a male mate? The point is well illustrated in Malcolm's statement when he is trapped in T-rex territory because of the car breaking down, "God creates man. God creates dinosaurs. God destroys dinosaurs. Man destroys God. Man creates dinosaurs, and dinosaurs eat man" (Time: 0:03:54). This raises an open moral question about the creation of the dinosaur: is it right for man to create life biogenetically to make money? Does "life find a way"? If so, who should take responsibility for the consequences? At the same time some other social questions will be asked:

what is the dinosaur in human society? Who is the creator? Why should it be created?

Compared with humans the cloned dinosaur has all the negations. The human being is the result of sexual relations between two persons, the development of an egg into an embryo and the embryo into human form. They are born naturally, live in the society, are controlled by the laws and ethical principles and gradually die. They are beautiful because they are in accordance with the law of the natural forces of the universe. The cloned dinosaur is the result of science abused. It is born from death in the laboratory. In this respect it transcends death, violates the natural law and intrudes into areas beyond human understanding and control, and is therefore ugly and immoral. The binary oppositions between the dinosaur and man are presented in the following table.

TABLE 5.2.1 BINARY OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN DINOSAUR AND MAN

Dinosaur	Man
Man-made from death	Naturally born
Dead but alive	Alive but mortal
No sex	Sex
Out of control	Controlled by the laws and moral rules
Alien creature	Lives in human society
Evil	Good but with frailties
Ugly	Beautiful
Destructive	Creative
Powerful	Weak

Ian Malcolm And His Values. Malcolm is a mathematician, specializing in chaos theory, a new theory of nonlinear equations in the emerging field which was first used to predict weather by computer. He is the outstanding one of the new generation of mathematicians who consider chaos theory as a philosophical method, and eagerly tries to use the theory to explain how the real world works.

He likes the colour black. He has a "deplorable excess of personality", and behaves like a "rock star" in Hammond's terms (Time: 0:18:01). He has some eccentric characteristics, a bit pushy. When he first met Drs. Grant and Sattler, he asked them quickly, giggling while chewing gum: "You two ... dig up ... dig up the dinosaurs?" (Time: 0.17:25)

From the first to the last, Dr. Malcolm has been using chaos theory strongly against capitalist John Hammond's plan to establish Jurassic Park for amusement both for children and adults. Mainly focussing on the security precautions of the Park, he objects to it for several reasons. The following dialogue between Malcolm and Hammond at lunch time in the control room explains the points.

EPISODE 14 (Time: 10:10)

Malcolm: Did you see the dangers? You've used scientific power like a child who found his father's gun. You don't know what you've created. I tell you what the problem is from the scientific chaos theory I use here. You did not require any principles to contain it. And you raided what other people have done and took a stake ... So you don't have to take the responsibility. Fourth you have taken the genetic technique before you don't even know what it is, put it together, then you pack it, then sell it! Sell it! You call it "discovery". It is not the discovery. It is violence. I call it, rape the natural world.

Hammond: Don't you think I have done something which has not been done before?

Malcolm: Yes, but how do you control the expansion of the dinosaur?

Hammond: Condoms! Condoms! It is on the verge of expansion. I will create condoms. We have the electric fence. We'll have steel frames on all the windows. Everything is under control.

Malcolm: No, you can't build moats and dams to prevent them. And nature selects them for expansion. Dinosaurs are hunter sharks. They are always expanding.

The binary oppositions are as follow:

man	dinosaur
control	expansion
discovery	rape (abuse)
knowledge	innocence
responsibility	irresponsibility
morality	immorality

Compared with the elite of Mao and his generals in Three Decisive Campaigns, Malcolm represents a different value model. The most important is that Malcolm and his colleagues are scientists who master certain subjects, and prefer to use modern technology such as computers to solve the problems. Their problem-solving aptitude is one of the important standards for science-fiction heroes (Clute & Nicholls, 1995). Besides, they have great enthusiasm for applying their scientific theory to social issues, although their applications seem too glib. Second, Malcolm and his colleagues are betrayers of tradition, not because they defy some traditional values and the present political system, but because they defy the traditional way of thinking, a self-concept that the human has taken for granted since the industrial revolution began. They question human notions of their intelligence and superiority. In their opinions, the genetic gold rush is just based upon such a human illusion. Their struggles are internal (fight with self to get a more accurate self-concept) and external (fight with the dinosaurs to survive). As against Mao and the other heroes in the heroic genre, heroes in this genre are those whose basic motivations are quest and self-discovery (ibid.), and reveal human weakness. They mock the traditional elites as linear theorists. In their eyes, the modern commercialized world full of horrible givens like chaos. It is a world which is greatly contaminated by money and power. They feel alarm at social decay, and are deeply concerned about the horrible consequences of the genetic gold rush. Third, the traditional elites behaved as the saviours of the people, focusing upon restoring justice to society. They took a snobbish view of business. However, these new elites are always bothered by such a dilemma. On the one hand, they think it is right to make money for a good reason. On the other hand, they are thrilled at the destructive consequence of abusing science for profit. In their times they face the biggest threat to existence that man has ever encountered before. Confronted with the worldwide abuse of scientific research, they have no idea to how to prevent it, but become more deplorable, abrasive and ironic. They deplore their time, their world, the crazy people (Crichton, 1991), almost everything, in order to arouse the public. Fourth, another key value expressed in Jurassic Park is family. The heroes like Malcolm, Grant and Sattler are not the saviours of people and the country, but the rescuers of children. Thus in the first genre, the narratives are most often concerned with the conflicts between man and man, and justice and injustice. But in the second genre, the narrative is more concerned with the conflicts of man against himself, and responsibility against irresponsibility. In some sense, the conflicts between Malcolm and Hammond are just the two inner aspects of the human psyche and belief.

Unlike the Manichean ideology between the hero and the false hero in the first movie, a different element in Jurassic Park is that every character is flawed in some way (Brode, 1995, p.219). Malcolm is too abrasive and has a cynical attitude towards marriage. He says to Sattler, "I am always on the lookout for a future ex-Mrs Malcolm" (Time: 0:14:50). Grant is too passive before he is pushed to save the children. Sattler and Grant agree to make an investigation after they get the promise from Hammond that he will financially support their research for three years. Since even Hammond also has a decent intention to establish a theme park for amusement, the hero is not authenticated by Heaven according to his moral perfectibility as in the first movie, but rather his heroic stature depends much more on natural selection. Grant, a most unlikely candidate, fills the role because he is the only person left in that situation.

For another thing, one of the most important standards for a hero in the first movie is to save the people from suffering. But in the second movie it is the attitude towards the children. Thus family values such as responsibility and love are vital virtues for a hero. Malcolm seems appropriately qualified. On the tour, he tells Grant that he loves children (Time: 0:14:20). When a tour car breaks down in the T-rex area, Malcolm worries and talks to Grant "kids get scared" (time: 0:13:12). Seeing the lawyer desert the terrified children, Malcolm bravely grabs a flare to head the monster off in the other direction, and calls to Grant to "save the children" (Time: 0:22: 50). His selfless rescue impresses the viewer that he would have made himself a hero had he not been wounded.

However, as elite figures, Malcolm and Mao Ze-dong have some similarities. They both tend to apply their theories to the social issues, although the former prefers chaos theory, the latter social theory. They devote themselves to a better social world order. They are both betrayers of their time, although in different ways. And courage is an important virtue in filling the heroic role in Jurassic Park.

TABLE 5.2.2 THE DIFFERENT VALUES AND PERSONALITIES PRESENTED IN TWO KINDS OF ELITE MODELS

Mao and His Generals	Malcolm and His Colleagues
Pure politicians	Scientists
Way of thinking	Way of thinking
linear	chaos
Social conflict	Social conflict
justice vs. injustice	responsibility vs. irresponsibility
man vs. man	man vs. Himself
Hierarchy	Technocracy
Saviours	Rock stars
Orthodoxy	Eccentric
Serious	Mocking
Optimistic	Pessimistic
Conservative	Creative
Ideology	Duty
Planning	Chance
Moderation	Excess
Discomfort	Luxury

Alan Grant And His Values. Grant begins his heroic journey when Malcolm gets hurt. At the beginning he does not like children at all. When he explains what a velociraptor look like to his colleagues and visitors, he even uses a fossilised claw to scare a boy (Time: 0:11:08). Tim, a lovely boy, first meets Grant and says to him sweetly "I read your book" (Time: 0:01:11). Grant seems not to hear, and still appears standoffish. When the situation pushes him to act as a parent to protect the two children, he gradually comes to enjoy fatherhood. He feeds the herbivorous dinosaurs with the children and explains why the female dinosaurs can breed (Time: 0:46:17). He pretends to get a shock from electricity to cheer up the children (Time: 0:5:56). His virtues of courage, care, love and responsibility teach the viewer the lesson that "there is no greater reward than parenting" in Spielberg's movies (Brode, 1995, p.222).

Grant's heroism reveals a common concern in Western countries. The fragility of the family is becoming a serious social issue. It is a concomitant of Western civilization. In the movie when the lawyer Gennaro deserts them, Lex and Tim

repeatedly scream to Grant in terror, "He left us! He left us!" (Time:0:20:39; 0:32:19). Their cry condemns parents who do not meet their responsibilities to their children.

The heroism in Jurassic Park focuses upon three virtues actualized by three characters. The first highlight is concerned with an ethical principle of scientific research, which Malcolm's role satisfies. The second highlight is family values. Dr. Grant shows what a parent should be. The palaeobotanist Ellie Sattler presents a feminist virtue, a compromise between a traditional mother and a capable modern career woman.

Ellie Sattler As A Modern Western Woman. Sattler is an expert palaeobotanist. She is a tough cookie. In the dinosaur section, when she finds a sick triceratops, she said to Grant, "I will stay here a little longer" in an attempt to make a definite diagnosis (Time: 0:11:46). Not hearing from the others, she is quite anxious and says, "Something is wrong. Something has happened. I can't wait any longer" (Time: 0:52:49). When Muldoon, a park game warden, is going to search for them, she says without hesitation, "I'll go with you" (Time: 53:20). Responding to her, Hammond utters untenable words about doing a hard job for a woman: "I really should be the one ... I'm a ... and you're a ..." Sattler answers firmly: "We'll discuss the sex after a survival situation gets back" (Time: 0:54:30). Then she bravely runs to the shelter to get power back to the electric fence (Time: 0:55:10). The feminist value is also latent in another scene (Time: 0:03:54). When Malcolm is waiting to see a real T-rex, he says to Sattler: "God creates dinosaurs. God destroys dinosaurs. God creates man. Man destroys God. Man creates dinosaurs." Then Sattler responds: "Dinosaurs eat man, women inherit the earth."

Apart from her courage and capability, the other important virtue is that she loves children. She helps Grant protect the children from the attack (Time: 1:08:50; 1:11:38). She acts as a good mother. Her virtues offers the viewer a new image of a modern Western woman. Unlike the women in the first movie, the women in Jurassic Park are more active, independent and capable. They are as equal to doing the job as men. Even the little girl, Lex, also plays an important role in fighting the dinosaurs' attack. When eating in the kitchen, she uses a ladle to tempt the two raptors away from her little brother (Time: 1:03:59). She operates a computer to get the door locked (Time: 1:08:50). The equal role of women is a distinguishing feature of Western values. It provides a striking contrast with the masculine heroism in Three Decisive Campaigns.

John Hammond, Dennis Nedry And Donald Gennaro As Gold-rushers.
Mr. Hammond is a businessman. He is the capitalist and owner of the park. In the movie he is transformed from a nasty and greedy curmudgeon in Michael Crichton's novel, interested only in acquiring profit and power, into "a well-intentioned, charming old bumbler" (Brode, 1995, p.213), like a "jolly Santa Claus whose toys have got out of hand" (Baxter, 1996, p.378).

Hammond has a dual personality. He is one of the genetic gold-rushers. Nobody will suspect that he has established the park for the purpose of making money. However, to some extent, he is not a man who considers money as an end in itself. But he is also motivated to turn his dream into a magic reality which children always dream of. In one episode when Gennaro talks about how they can make a fortune with the park by charging a high price for the tickets, Hammond disagrees with him.

EPISODE 15 (Time: 0:06:02)

Gennaro: We can charge an thing we want, two thousand a day, ten thousand a day. People will pay it.

Hammond: This park is not going to be exclusively for the super-rich. Everyone in the world has a right to see the beasts.

Obviously the narrative tries to convince the viewer that Hammond's motivation for establishing the park is quite proper, because nothing is wrong with making a lot of money for the public's amusement and knowledge. His tragedy mainly results from the common sense attitude to science which people always take for granted, just as he questions Malcolm about his attitude toward the park, "How can we stand in the light of discovery and not act ... I don't understand your attitude, especially from a scientist" (Time: 0:4:00). In this sense, the tragedy of Hammond is a human tragedy. People always take it for granted that they can make something that has not existed before in the natural world. Like children, they dream of an unknown world and are over-eager for action. Their superficial knowledge about both the natural world and their own world encourages them to play at being gods. The disaster of Jurassic Park indicates what severe consequences will happen when men play at being gods. The movie's ethical meaning is that no matter how well-intentioned humans are, they are immoral as long as they tamper with nature.

Dennis Nedry is a slob, doing computers in Jurassic Park. He is very greedy (Time: 0:03:40; 0:16:06). In order to steal the frozen embryos of cloned

dinosaurs, he has switched off the computer system which controls the security precautions and the power system, which has caused a tragedy. Gennaro is a selfish speculator. When the T-rex attacks the car, he leaves the children and flees to the lavatory (Time: 0: 20:39).

Hammond, Nedry and Gennaro are negative value models opposed to Grant, Sattler and Malcolm. In Malcolm's words, they "raid what others have done but have never taken any responsibility ... pack it and sell it for money" (Time: 0:05:20). They are the representatives of those who abuse the biotechnology to create the genetic crisis in our time. And they are the real destroyers of the living planet and human lives. Unlike the false heroes in Three Decisive Campaigns, Hammond, Nedry and Gennaro provide the immoral models of the modern commercialized age. Therefore, they transcend the national boundaries, and have worldwide significance.

If we compare Hammond, Nedry and Gennaro with the traditional immoral models, there is a big difference in the kind of social conflict they are confronted with in their societies. In older times, whether in China or Western countries, antagonism in the hierarchial system was about power. An armed struggle was the main way of getting power. Three Decisive Campaigns takes up such a topic. But in the modern times, the antagonism of the commercial society shifts to money, since the armed struggle has not been the main way of seizing power. Instead, money can almost buy everything; power, prestige, diplomas, technology, sex, etc. Humans have become the slaves of money. Their excessive greed for money results in the degeneration of morality, which not only creates a lot of social problems, such as drugs and crime, but also threatens human existence. Jurassic Park reflects such a reality in modern times. Through the binary oppositions of Hammond and Malcolm, it probes into human morality, notions of science and self-concept. But how humans solve them still remains an open question. The philosophical exploration of human, morality and society strengthens the rationality and reality of the characters. In the later sections I will discuss these two aspects and draw a comparison with the Chinese philosophy and the social issues.

5.2.5 THE BINARY OPPOSITIONS OF MALCOLM'S LINE AND HAMMOND'S LINE

So far now I have analysed the main characters in Jurassic Park. I divide the two opposing lines according to their morality. The first is the Malcolm line, including Grant and Sattler, although they are pure scientists and have differ-

ent personalities from Malcolm. In the moral sense, they are the heroic models the film wants to establish. At the very beginning they suspect the success of Hammond's plan. When discussing the safety of the park at lunch time, Grant asks Hammond: "Dinosaur and man separated 65 million years ago. How can you have the slightest idea they can live with each other?" (Time: 0:37:01). At the same time, Sattler raises the same question: "The question is, how much can you know about an extinct system ... violence is inevitable." From the viewpoint of the moral values, the Malcolm line represents the contemporary Western moral models. They are upright, dedicated to science, sacrificing, responsible, intelligent, bravely fighting against both the attack of the dinosaurs and the social phenomenon of the genetic gold rush.

The second line is the Hammond line, including the computer worker Nedry, and legal counsel Gennaro. They are mean, selfish, money-grubbing, evasive, irresponsible and destructive. The following table presents the binary oppositions in the values between the two lines.

TABLE 5.2.3 THE BINARY OPPOSITIONS IN THE VALUES BETWEEN TWO LINES

The Malcolm Line	The Hammond Line
Elite	Gold-rushers
Upright	Mean
Moderate	Greedy
Good	Evil
Creative	Destructive
Responsible	Evasive
Dedicated	Selfish
Brave	Timid
Intelligent	Foolish
Visionary	Short-sighted

5.3 CONCLUSION

Analysis of the relationships between the formulaic elements and their communicated values in Jurassic Park shows the same conclusion drawn from the first movie that values and meanings are communicated by binary oppositions. The use of counter-events and counter-shots is also very obvious in the second movie. Every formulaic element plays its role in rendering a visual model from a character. Among the formulaic elements, characters, especially heroes and false heroes, are the most important value-conveyers.

As for the values communicated to Chinese viewers, salience might be the second attribute of a movie model. In a broad sense, Jurassic Park presents some new value models to Chinese teenagers, compared with those in Three Decisive Campaigns. The facts of teenager preference and the reasons they gave in the questionnaires show that salience is as important as redundancy in model selection. This is experimentally proved by Bandura's psychological research (Bandura, 1986, p.51). My study shows the evidence both from the narrative analysis and the subjects' reasons (see a description of the reasons in chapter seven).

The analysis also shows that the values presented in the textual levels of each movie are also determined by genre and culture. For example, the kind of hero in the first movie differs from that in the second. This difference results from the differences in the genre and culture. A more detailed discussion of the two issues will be presented later.

It should be noticed that in the questionnaires, no subject gave an ideological and moral reason for the preferring Jurassic Park. All the reasons are centred on knowledge and aesthetics. However, in Three Decisive Campaigns, the preferred reasons are centred on the ideological valence. For one thing, it suggests that value learning, here exclusively moral value learning, is a complicated process. It is different from other behaviour learning like fashion, in which salient models may greatly facilitate modelling, but it is hard to conclude that salient models would decisively influence moral value learning. Value learning at least includes the two processes of value selection and learning. The first concerns value preference, the second concerns the enactment of the modelled behaviour. These two processes have their own characteristics, and are influenced by many factors. Sometimes people may prefer

new value models, but they do not actually model them for many social, physical and psychological reasons (Bandura, 1986).

For another thing, redundancy and salience, as the two major characteristics of the movie model's communicated values, might distinguish the two processes. It might be inferred that salient models mainly influence the selection process. But redundancy could influence both processes. Redundancy might be more important for moral value learning. In view of the function of visual models on the preservation of socially approved values, value learning is a reiterated learning process in most cases. In other word, the modelled behaviour results from the redundantly vicarious experience of viewing the similar value models prevailing in a given society.

In Jurassic Park, the important qualities of a hero are competence, responsibility and profit. These differ from those in Three Decisive Campaigns. These differences partially depend on genre. Jurassic Park is a science fiction movie, in which the heroes are scientists who are facing the thematic conflict of human vs. nature. Naturally, the related values concern the ethics of bioengineering. In Three Decisive Campaigns the hero is a politician, facing a human vs. human conflict. The values communicated should concern the social order. Genre not only influences what kind of value model, but also the "virtual reality" of the model by means of audience familiarities (genre conventionalities). This is of great significance to modelling. An extensive discussion will be provided in Chapter seven.

On the other hand, culture also influences value models. Every culture has its own important values. In Jurassic Park, the value of profit is much emphasized, perhaps a particular feature of American culture. By contrast, the important values of power and authority in monarch myths and Three Decisive Campaigns mark the Chinese culture. Besides, culture will influence the way in which the narrative is presented. More precisely, narratives will reflect certain belief, and the thought of a given culture. This point will be discussed later.

6 NARRATIVE STRUCTURES AND VALUES

This section deals with the analysis of the narrative pattern (the Proppian functions) in each movie in terms of Berger's variational approach. The purpose is to reveal the relationships between narrative structures, genres, and values. Special attention is given to the binary oppositions existing in the plot structure and its relevant events for probing into the relation between narrative structures, value communication, and model learning.

6.1 CHINESE NARRATIVES AND THE PROPPIAN FUNCTIONS

A number of Proppian functions can be found in the former monarch myths and the movie Three Decisive Campaigns. I will not make as complete an analysis as I could, in that this would involve numerous functions, but will describe some important functions which dominate Chinese monarch narratives. I have chosen the myth of Emperor Huang as a parallel to Three Decisive Campaigns for analysis. The symbol "Pf" means Proppian function, the number or letter following indicating its order among the Proppian functions (Propp, 1968, pp.26-64).

Pfa. Initial Situation. The hero is introduced. Huang is introduced as a very kind-hearted sage. In the movie Mao Ze-dong is introduced as the chairman of the Communist Party of China.

Pf8. Villainy. The villain or false hero causes harm. Chi-you tortured his men and launched a war against Huang for revenge. Chiang Kai-shek as a false hero launched a civil war against Mao Ze-dong.

Pf8a. Lack. The villain or false hero exercised a cruel rule over the people. People were suffering and harmonious social order was lacking in both the myth and movie.

Pf9. Mediation. Lack is made known; the hero is dispatched. When Huang heard that the border of his country had been attacked and his people were being brutalized, he decided to go the war. Mao Ze-dong and the Communist Party decided to fight against Chiang Kai-shek for the benefit of the people.

Pf11. Departure. The hero leaves home. Huang led his troops to fight against Chi-you. Mao Ze-dong and his generals transferred to the village of Xi Bei Po to plan the three campaigns against Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang government.

Pf14. Provision or receipt of a magical agent. The hero gets a magical agent. Huang got a military book in a dream from the Royal Mother in the Western Paradise. Mao Ze-dong got all kinds of help from the people, both manpower and material resources.

Pf16. Struggle. The hero and the villain (or false hero) join in direct combat. Huang bade his troops fight against Chi-you, and blow horns and beat drums to scare the evils and monsters summoned by Chi-you. There were quite a number of fierce battles between the CPC army (PLA) and the KMT army.

Pf18. Victory. The villain or the false hero is defeated. Chi-you was defeated. Chiang Kai-shek lost the campaigns.

Pf19. Liquidation. Initial misfortune or lack is liquidated. Harmonious social order was achieved, people lived and worked in peace and contentment in the myth. In the movie there were a number of scenes about how people celebrated the victory.

Pf30. Punishment. The villain or the false hero is punished. Chi-you was beheaded. Chiang Kai-shek and his government fled south of the Yangtze River.

Pf29. Transfiguration. The hero is given a new appearance. Huang was authenticated by Heaven when he got the military book from the Royal Mother in the dream. His victory transfigured him as a "son of Heaven". Mao Ze-dong's authority was proved by the Mandate of Heaven, being hailed as "the great leader of the people" and "the saviour".

Pf31. Wedding and the Hero Ascends the Throne. Huang became the first Emperor in the predynastic period and was entitled "the ancestor of the Chinese". Mao Ze-dong established the government of the People's Republic of China in Beijing and became the leader of the country.

There is no doubt that this Proppian analysis could have been extended considerably by dealing with other events in the myth and the movie and the sub-categories outlined by Propp. But what I am concerned about is whether

Proppian functions can be applied to Chinese monarch myths and contemporary fiction narratives successfully, and how these plot functions influence the communication of meaning and values. From the description of the above, the answer to the first concern is positive. Chinese monarch myths and contemporary historical films really include many of the Proppian functions. These basic functions work throughout the plot of the myth and the modern fiction, and determine the constituents of a certain narrative, such as the characters, the conflicts and the actions, the order of the events, the story lines, and the consequence. The meaning and values are thus transmitted as the plot of the narrative develops with these functions.

6.1.1 THE MOTIF, ITS THREE DOMINANT RULES AND CLICHES

In both myth and movie, a similar motif dominating the narratives can be found, that is, "a sage ascends the throne". In this motif only "ascends" is a verb which constitutes the dynamic elements of the narrative syntagmatically. "A sage" is a noun and subject, while "the throne" is the object and the outcome of "a sage". The subject and the object constitute the static elements paradigmatically. These two kinds of element basically include actions, events, and Berger's formulaic elements (time, location, hero, heroine, secondary characters, villain, theme, costume, locomotion, and weaponry). They work as a whole to complete the presentation of the motif by logically providing answers to the two questions according to the three narrative rules.

The functional rule determines the verb (or the particular functions of a sage) in a sequence. It is a rule for describing the syntagmatic elements of a narrative in order to see how the sage "ascends" the throne. The moral rule prescribes the subject for particular virtues and qualities. The reinforcing rule prescribes the subject as the only winner of the object (the throne). The latter two rules for describing the paradigmatic elements in order to answer why it is not anybody else but the sage who ascends the throne. These three rules have two characteristics. First, they all function in a binary way. In other words, if a hero has a certain function (action), the villain or the false hero must have a counteraction. If the hero has a certain virtue, the villain or the false hero must have a corresponding vice. And if the hero is rewarded, the villain or the false hero must be punished. Second, they work in a related way. They relate the structure, text and events by connecting action with morality and reinforcement. These two characteristics have a significance for modelling because moral meaning is got by comparison and by a cause-effect connection between the moral action and the rewarded outcome.

The functional rule regulates the narrative pattern and the relevant events. Achieving a self-evident consequence simultaneously demands the Proppian functions of a syntagmatic sequence and a binary opposition. Every function acts as a stimulus for a later function, this being the response or the result. Meanwhile, each function has its opposite function and complements the other. They relate to each other in this two-fold way to show an inevitable cause-effect connection of morality between the verb of the motif and its object through solving a set of principal thematic conflicts in a plot. In such a way the functions (actions) of a sage absolutely determine the positive reinforcing outcome, that is, ascending the throne.

Beside those rules, there are other cliches. Heroes in Chinese monarch narratives are always historical figures, humble sages who belong to a new generation and cherish the political ideal of benevolent government (Fan, Wen-lan & Chai Mei-biao, 1965-1978). In this case, villains and false heroes are always immoral and foolish rulers (ibid.). These narratives focus upon social order and conflicts, and in the belief that morality is the foundation of a harmonious society. They reflect Utopias and Manichean ideology, praise human cognitive ability highly, and demonstrate knowledge and power in determining their own fate.

Now let us examine more closely how these rules and cliches regulate the plot of the movie Three Decisive Campaigns in terms of the Proppian functions and their relevant events in the moral sense.

6.1.2 THE NARRATIVE PATTERN AND THE SEQUENCE OF THE EVENTS

As mentioned above, there are twelve basic Proppian functions in the myth and the movie. These can be divided into four syntagmatic units: unit I (Pfa. Pf8a. Pf8.), unit II (Pf9. Pf11. Pf14.), unit III (Pf16. Pf18. Pf19.), and unit IV (Pf29. Pf30. Pf31.). Since these four units relate the most important events sequentially, they dominate the development of the plot. The following discusses these four units in the movie in detail.

In unit I (Pfa. Pf8a. Pf8.) the relevant events of Initial Situation, Lack and Villainy are presented by a narrator. The commentary is as follows:

On August 1945 when the Japanese government declared its unconditional surrender, the Chinese people won their first victory against foreign invasion in modern times. But our ancient country with its brilliant civilization and the great sufferings in war was again facing a critical choice between a bright future or a dim future, and a good fate or a bad fate. The Kuomintang government under the

leadership of Chiang Kai-shek tried to establish a country under the dictatorship of feudalism and capitalism. The Communist Party of China, however, under the leadership of Mao Ze-dong complied with aspirations of the people for establishing a new democratic republic. In June 1946, Chiang Kai-shek, with the support of the American imperialists, brazenly tore up the Peace Agreement, and started a civil war. The Chinese People under the leadership of the Communist Party of China had participated in the great liberation war. After two years, the military forces of the KMT and the CPC changed greatly. In a favourable situation, Mao Ze-dong and his generals made a decision to launch the three decisive campaigns to wipe out the main forces of the KMT (From the beginning of The Liao Shen Campaign).

In the Initial Situation (Pfa.), Lack (Pf8a.) and Villainy (Pf8.), the false hero (Chiang Kai-shek) and the hero (Mao Ze-dong) are introduced. The false hero is the president of the KMT government, who, with the support of the American imperialists, brazenly tears up the Peace Agreement, starts the civil war, tries to provide the Chinese People a dim future and a bad fate by establishing a country under the dictatorship of feudalism and capitalism. Instead, the hero is the leader of the CPC, who complies with the aspirations of the people to end the war, tries to provide the Chinese people a bright future and a good fate by establishing a new democratic republic in fighting against the false hero.

As we see, the functions of the hero are the responses to the Lack caused by the false hero. In the movie, like other Chinese monarch narratives, Lack means lacking a harmonious social order or a benevolent government. In this sense Lack is a collective Lack, which focuses upon the interest of the people. The creator of the Lack is the false hero Chiang Kai-shek who is in disguise as the president of the National Government but causes harm to his people by starting a civil war. The actions of Mao Ze-dong are to restore the Lack: for instance, the action of "participated" is the response to "tore up" and "start". Thus, in such a sequential way or a stimulus-response order, the functional rule regulates the functions of both false hero and hero, and guides the development of the plot.

Besides a sequential order of functions, a binary opposition is also obvious. The binary oppositions of the actions are "start vs. end", "comply with the aspirations of the people vs. betray the people", "establish vs. hinder". In both the sequential and opposite functions, the false hero Chiang Kai-shek acts as an evil, perfidious and incompetent war criminal. The hero Mao Ze-dong acts as a moral, benevolent, people-loving, competent, peace-loving and democratic leader. These explain why and how the false hero is punished accordingly and why and how the hero can win the war and rescue the people from suffering in unit IV, since all these actions are centred upon a dominant theme: good vs. bad. More important is the Manichean ideology, that is, the hero is absolutely good, and the false hero is absolutely bad. The other characters may be a blend of some good

and bad qualities.

It should be emphasized that Mao is known as a good man and Chiang as a bad man not only from the actions and counteractions of the hero and the false hero, but also from the actions of the other characters. Hence, the Proppian functions actually work multiply through the transformation of characters and narrative roles. I distinguish the concept of character from the concept of narrative role (see chapter four, the terminology). Character equals actor, and is "a dramatis persona capable of filling one or several narrative roles" (Holbek, 1987, p.451). Narrative role refers to "the position of a character" in a certain narrative (ibid., p.453). The transformation of characters and narrative roles constitutes the multiple story-lines in a narrative, and puts every function in a specific situation, as every narrative role is distinct and situational. For example, the character of Mao Ze-dong actually plays the following narrative roles: political leader, father, husband, friend, and comrade. These narrative roles, like social roles, always change according to the specific narrative context, which is more or less similar to the social context. It defines the specific position (role) in a narrative for a character in terms of sex, social status and age. In this sense, the action the character performs also depends on what narrative role the character actually assumes.

Besides, characters are not merely seen as "role fillers" (Holbek, 1987, p.416). They always experience a kind of tension between roles and roles, roles and virtual egos. This tension reflects many real conflicts in a given society, such as self vs. self, man vs. man, man vs. society, etc. Thus the transformation of narrative roles around the multiple thematic conflicts not only makes the plot complicated and interesting, but also satisfies our cognitive and ethical need to get basic knowledge of social norms in a given society. Just as Holbek noted: "the roles explain the importance of the tale role", that is, "the possession of a role is a tale value" (Holbek, 1987, p.416). This point is very important to modelling and will be discussed later.

In this unit, the narrator mentions four characters: the hero, his helpers (generals) and supporters (the people), the false hero, his supporters (the American imperialists). The false hero and the hero act as president, rector, rival, husband, father, and grandfather, etc. respectively. The story-lines are thus determined by the change in the characters and narrative roles.

Unit II (Pf9. Pf11. Pf14.) responds to the function Lack. In this unit the relevant events of Mediation (Pf9.), Departure (Pf11.) and Provision (Pf14.) are that Mao

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Ze-dong is reluctant to join the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek, Mao crosses the Yellow River with his generals to link up with his other troops in Xi Bei Po to launch the campaigns, Mao and his troops get all kinds of support from the people. The responses of Chiang concern these corresponding sequential events: Chiang is informed of Mao's transference, Chiang assigns Wan to get military advice from the Japanese war criminal to prepare the campaigns. The binary oppositions of the functions are "converge vs dispatch", and "get vs. deprive". This unit is concerned with a major thematic conflict: weak vs. strong. Mao seems weak because he has a disadvantage in military force and equipment. Chiang appears strong with his well-equipped army and foreign aid. So much centres on how the weak can triumph over the strong in the end. In the movie one focus is upon the Proppian function provision, that is, how the hero Mao gets help from the people because of his good qualities and morality. Unlike the myth of Huang, in which the donor is always an agent of Heaven, the modern narrative transfers the donor from god to people which has a deep root in Confucianism, which identifies the popular will with the Mandate of Heaven. The functions of this unit and their relevant events try to show the viewer that popular support, which is aligned with morality, is the real power to win the war.

Unit III includes Proppian functions Pf16. (Struggle), Pf18. (Victory), and Pf19. (Liquidation). This unit is the main body of the movie. The main events of these three functions are as follows. In The Liao Shen Campaign: Mao commands Lin to attack Jinzhou, Chiang adopts the Japanese's suggestion of reinforcing the defence forces of Jinzhou, Mao appoints commanders-in-chief for the Huai Hai campaign, Chiang celebrates his inauguration in Nanjing, Mao reluctantly approves Lin's plan for attacking Changchun instead of Jinzhou, the PLA suffers a heavy loss in the Changchun battle, Mao reorders Lin to attack Jinzhou, Chiang appoints his son to launch financial reform in Shanghai, Chiang flies to Shenyang to supervise the campaign, Mao discusses the military situation with his generals, Chiang is on a warship to inspect his defence troops, Mao cites General Lin for his meritorious service in winning the city of Jinzhou, Chiang cancels the financial reform and approves of retreating, Mao wins the campaign, Chiang becomes ill on hearing of the failure, people celebrate the victory.

In The Huai Hai Campaign: Mao decides to bring the Huai Hai campaign offensive forward, Chiang appoints Du as the commander-in-chief of the troops in Xuzhou, Mao's generals Liu, Chen and Deng succeed in blocking Chiang's main forces, Chiang flies to Xuzhou to supervise the campaign, Chiang's troops suffer a heavy loss, Chiang sends off his wife to get aid from the American president Truman but fails, Mao wins the campaign, and Chiang is lost.

In The Ping Jing Campaign: Mao discusses with Zhou the countermeasures for Fu's new military deployment, Chiang dines with Fu and proposes a plan of retreat, Fu persuades Chiang to approve his defence plan, Fu asks his daughter to telegraph Mao about establishing a united government, Mao refuses Fu's peace terms and derive a containment policy to prevent Fu from fleeing, Fu's main forces are caught in a trap, Chiang demands Fu immediately retreat, Mao orders the wiping out of Fu's main forces, Mao forces Fu to accept a peaceful settlement at Beijing, Fu declares the peace settlement, Mao arranges the Yangtze campaign to give Chiang's government a final blow, Chiang appoints the commander-in-chief for the Yangtze campaign and tenders his resignation, Mao establishes his government in Beijing, people in Beijing celebrate their liberation.

In this unit the binary oppositions of the functions are "attack vs. defend", "pursue vs. evade", and "win vs. lose". The main thematic conflict is "competence vs. incompetence". This unit of the Proppian functions constitutes multiple story-lines through the transformations of characters and narrative roles. Besides the main antagonism between the hero Mao and the false hero Chiang, the other relationships between characters and narrative roles are also important in reflecting the thematic conflict and values.

In the movie there are seven basic story-lines, which are about the hero, false hero, the hero's generals, the hero's soldiers, the false hero's generals, the false hero's soldiers, and the common people. These story-lines support each other by both logical sequence and contrast. The data contribute alternately to build up the plot and express meaning. For example, the thematic conflict of competence vs. incompetence between the protagonists is not only expressed by the binary oppositions in the events of the hero and of the false hero, but also by comparison with the other story-lines. In The Liao Shen Campaign, the conflict between Mao and his general Lin on the issue of attacking or not attacking the city of Jinzhou is one of the highlights. Mao's talent is emphasized through an overwhelming amount of presentation of Lin's attitude towards Mao's order and the differing consequences of disobedience and obedience. The three Proppian functions with their relevant events working at the levels of sequence, opposition and thematic conflict to show competence is another important element how Mao gained power.

Unit IV includes Proppian functions Pf29. (Transfiguration), Pf30. (Punishment) and Pf31. (Wedding and the Hero Ascending the Throne). The relevant events of these functions are: Mao is titled "the great leader of the people and of the new democratic China", the KMT commanders are either captured or killed, Chiang

is preparing fleeing to Taiwan, Mao becomes the Chairman of the Communist Party and presides over the administration. The binary oppositions of these functions are rescue vs. suffer, reward vs. punish, ascend vs. descend. The three functions of this unit are the results of the functions in the previous three units. Their focus upon the thematic conflict of low vs. high provides a reasonable and reinforcing outcome of the previous functions and their related qualities. If we compare Pfa. (Initial Situation) in unit I with Pf31. (Wedding and the Hero Ascends the Throne) in unit IV, we find that both the hero and the false hero have changed their social status. The hero begins as a humble and weak rebel, but ends as a powerful and authentic leader. The answer logically lies in the preceding functions which ascribe to the hero certain important virtues and qualities. He must restore the lack by overthrowing the immoral ruler to implement benevolent governing. For this purpose, he must prove that his talent and morality are worthy of being rewarded by the Mandate of Heaven. In such a way, the three rules of the narrative lead to a logical link between morality, action and reinforcement, that is, the good will win and the bad will be punished. This logic has great influence upon model choice and learning. In the following I would like to give the basic functions of the hero and the false hero, as well as their thematic conflicts, goals and consequences in terms of bipolar oppositions, in an attempt to show a simple sketch of the logic working in the movie.

Table 6.1 BASIC ACTIONS, THEMATIC CONFLICTS, GOALS AND CONSEQUENCE

Basic Actions of the Hero		the False Hero
End a civil war		Start a civil war
Comply with the popular will		Betray the popular will
Restore good social order		Break the social order
Link up at Xi Bei Po		Dispatch Wan and his men
Get the donor		Be deprived of the donor
Attack the cities		Defend the cities
Pursue		Escape
Win the campaigns		Lose the campaigns
Save people from suffering		Harm the people
Reward		Punish
Ascend		Descend
Thematic		Conflicts
Good	vs.	Bad
Weak	vs.	Strong
Competence	vs.	Incompetence
Low	vs.	High
The Goals of the Hero		The Goals of the False Hero
Make up for the lack		Create the lack
Succeed in getting the Mandate of Heaven		Lose the Mandate of Heaven
Implement benevolent rule		Implement cruel rule
The Self-Evident Logic		
The good will win		The bad will be punished

6.2 THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF JURASSIC PARK

6.2.1 SCIENCE FICTION, NARRATIVE RULES AND CLICHES

Science-fiction narratives, (here exclusively referring to US and UK sf. narratives), have four main elements. They are the fantastic voyage, the Utopia (along with the anti-Utopia and the Dystopia), the philosophical tale, and the technological and sociological anticipation (Clute and Nicholls, 1995). These elements, in varying proportions, became melted into all kinds of science fiction narratives, and demarcate science fiction from the other genres.

With the development of society, the economy and technology, the focuses of science fiction were changed with changing times. John Clute used the term "inner tale" to describe these changes. He concluded that "In 1942 ... the inner tale of sf. was a tale of empire ... in 1952, it was hubris ... in 1962, solipsism ... in 1972, retribution ... in 1982, memory ... in 1992, the inner tale of sf. is a tale of exogamy" (ibid.).

There has always been a "tension in sf. between the Classical desire for order and understanding - for the Universe that can be known - and the Romantic desire (which fits the observable facts to date) that the Universe should continue to surprise us, hold secrets and malignities" (ibid.). The latter desire is the Gothic, which might be seen as a reaction to the emphasis on reason prevailing in the Enlightenment. The linkage of science with the Gothic began with Mary Shelley's Frankenstein (1818, rev. 1831), a pioneer combining the monster narrative with invention. Since then, much science fiction has been devoted to a Promethean theme and gradually become a cliche (Clute & Nicholls, 1995; Berger, 1992). These narratives tend to reveal inexplicable wildness lurking beneath the surface of civilization represented by a mad scientist or a paranoid entrepreneur, and to emphasize catastrophe and the punishment for a human assuming the creative power belonging to God.

One of the obvious characteristics of the science fiction Gothic is its paradoxical treatment of science. From this point of view, science breeds both civilization and monsters. The split in science between its bright and dark sides provides a birthplace for horror fiction and promotes a new wave of Dystopia. Public anxieties aroused by social problems, economic recession, science, ecology, overpopulation and politics are bound to manifest themselves in fiction. Up to

now, half of all science fiction movies are thrillers (Clute & Nicholls, 1995). Among the Dystopian themes, quite a number of them belong to the Luddite subtext (ibid.), of which Michael Crichton is a well-known representative. This horror fiction was rather downbeat and gloomy. The hero was pressed just to survive. The main idea presented in the Gothic mode is anti-intellectualism.

Another cliche of the science-fiction Gothic is the evolution of alien roles as a natural consequence of Darwinism and genetic engineering. This role cliche, inherited from the UK tradition, has cast the alien as a genocidal enemy of mankind since H.G. Wells' The War of the Worlds (1898) (ibid.). The physical characteristics of nasty aliens were usually borrowed from reptiles, arthropods and molluscs. With the advent of cloning technique, many science fiction writers tended to use cloning in creating more dramatic action-adventure stories. The relationship between human and alien enables the authors to pose questions about various attitudes and values, such as human chauvinism, sexual prejudices, racism, political colonialism, human vanity and ecological destruction. In the science-fiction narrative dealing with cloning, the so-called clone-identity reflects a deep psychological phenomenon concerning the nature of the individuality and the narcissistic aspects of intimate relationships, and a strong desire for immortality and for catharsis of fear (ibid.). This kind of narrative, unlike the Chinese monarchs' narrative, is more concerned about self-exploration by presenting the split in the human psyche at the levels of good and bad, human and God, and reasonable and unreasonable.

In science fiction, cliche gadgets are also important. These arise partly out of the need to identify stories as genuinely science fiction. Gadgets usually include the blaster, androids, hyperspace drives, cyborgs, time machines, force fields and computers. Jurassic Park has succeeded in show-casing an emerging digital computer technology. The film's menagerie of three-dimensional, computer-animated dinosaurs sparked off a worldwide dinosaur craze.

Because of these characteristics and cliches, in many cases, the motif of the science-fiction Gothic may be summarized as "an alien invades the human territory". The narrative rules governing science-fiction Gothic are distinguished from those in the Chinese monarchs' narrative. Being a thriller, punishment becomes a dominant reinforcer in the science-fiction Gothic. Reinforcement is required to be separate from a cause-effect relationship with personal morality. Because of the split between the good and bad aspects of a character, heroes are always flawed in one way or another. Also, because the antagonism in the narrative is alien vs. human, the logic that the good will win but the bad will lose

is inappropriate. Berger (1992, p.136) uses a very vivid analogy to describe the logic in the science-fiction Gothic for creating the "great disillusionment" of human supremacy. This analogy compares the attitude of humans towards microbes to the attitude of Martians towards the human. In this case heroes and villains are the same in the eyes of the alien, and are equally helpless in facing the invasion. Thus the negative reinforcement rule flirts with the contingency of the situation to strengthen the catastrophic consequence of the human usurping God. Hence, the connection between action, morality and reinforcement in the second genre appears to be generalized. In other words, the Proppian function of Punishment (pf30.) is not definitely related to the individual functions of the characters. Whether the good will be rewarded or not depends largely on the situation. Furthermore, for these reasons, some Proppian functions are missing. But the binary oppositions are still very clear in such narratives. Let us look at Jurassic Park.

6.2.2 THE NARRATIVE PATTERN AND THE SEQUENTIAL EVENTS

In unit I (Pfa. Initial Situation, Pf8a. Lack, Pf8. villainy), the Initial Situation is introduced by the mortal attack of a Tyrannosaurus rex on a workman in a theme park being stocked with cloned dinosaurs. The main thematic conflict of human vs. alien is emphasized at the very beginning when the Lack of safety is created by the evil dinosaur eating the man. The Proppian function in this unit is centred on the fierce attack and on the desperate defence of the men. More attention is given to the terrifying threat of the man-made monster, its horrifying mouth, blood-thirsty nature and aggressive behaviour. Thus Jurassic Park presents a horrible Lack created by the man-made monster, a T-rex. The difference between the two movies at this point is obvious. In Three Decisive Campaigns the Lack is presented by a narrator accompanying the image of the Yellow River, a symbol of Heaven and culture. Although the Lack in both movies indicates social disorder, the focuses differ in what it is, how and by whom it is created. These differences arise partly from genre, and partly from culture.

If we compare unit I (Pfa. Initial Situation, Pf. Lack, Pf 8. Villiany) with unit IV (Pf29. Transfiguration, Pf30. Punishment, and Pf31. Wedding), we will naturally raise two questions: how could the cloned dinosaurs get loose and attack people? Why is the creation of the dinosaur immoral? The narrative tries to answer these two questions through its Proppian functions, the sequential events, binary oppositions and thematic conflicts.

In unit II (Pf9. Mediation, Pf11. Departure, Pf14. Provision), the sequential events are as follows: the accident in the theme park becomes known, the lawyer Gennaro is assigned to investigate; the palaeontologist Grant, the palaeobotanist Sattler, and Malcolm, the expert in chaos theory, are invited by the entrepreneur Hammond to give their opinions of his success; the site experts, along with Hammond's two grandchildren, are on a tour of the park to investigate the precautions. Another story-line is about the chief of the park's computer systems who undertakes a criminal plan to steal the embryos of the cloned dinosaur. Pf14. (Provision of a Magical Agent) refers to the use of advanced weapons, vehicles and aeroplanes. The thematic conflict is intelligence vs. primitiveness.

In unit III (Pf16. Struggle, Pf18. Victory, and Pf19. Liquidation), Pf16. refers to these sequential events: the criminal scheme combines with an oncoming storm so that the security systems break down; all the visitors but Hammond are stranded in the wind, rain and darkness as the automated cars have no power; the dinosaurs get loose; they attack the humans; the lawyer Gennaro abandons the children; Malcolm and Grant rescue the children, Malcolm is hurt, Gennaro and criminal Nedry are eaten by the Tyrannosaurus rex and the Dilophosaurus; Grant, Sattler, Malcolm and the two children are chased by the Tyrannosaurus rex and the Velociraptors; Hammond, the three scientists and the two children eventually flee from the park by helicopter (Pf18. Pf19.). As a thriller, Pf18. (Victory) in the movie is modified as survival. The Proppian functions are pursue vs. evade, rescue vs. abandon, control vs. expand, and survive vs. die. The thematic conflict is safety vs. danger.

This unit is the main body of the narrative. The answers to the question of how and why mainly exist in the events concerning the cloning process, the aggressive and competitive nature of dinosaurs and a crime. The actions in reaction to dinosaurs emphasize the values of bioengineering ethics. In addition, there are other actions in reaction to the children. These actions embody family values.

In unit IV Pf30. (Punishment) is shifted to unit III, before Pf18. (Victory). Pf31. (wedding) is presented at the end with Grant and Sattler appearing to be the parents of the children in the aeroplane. This hint suggests a marriage. But Pf29. (Transfiguration) is missing. The thematic conflict is responsibility vs. irresponsibility.

From the analysis of twelve Proppian functions, I find that only one (Pf29. Transfiguration) is missing. This may result from the difference in genre. We can

conclude that the Proppian plot pattern not only suits the Chinese monarch narrative, but also fundamentally suits the science-fiction narrative of Jurassic Park. The following table presents the binary oppositions in actions, thematic conflicts, goals and logic

TABLE 6.2 BASIC ACTIONS, THEMATIC CONFLICTS, GOALS AND CONSEQUENCES

Basic Actions of Human		Dinosaur
Control		Expand
Coexist		Compete
Defend		Attack
Escape		Pursue
Die		Kill
Thematic		**Conflicts**
Human	vs.	Alien
Intelligence	vs.	Primitiveness
Safety	vs.	Danger
Good	vs.	Bad
The Goals		**The Goals**
Make up the lack		Create the lack
Try to survive		Destroy humans
The Self-Evident Logic		
Humans will be destroyed if they create dinosaurs.		

6.3 CONCLUSION

The linkage of the narrative structure, genre and values can be easily found in the discussion above. For one thing, the narrative structures of binary oppositions and the Proppian functions work together to serve the purpose of value transmission. Generally speaking, the Proppian functions follow the three

narrative rules, the functional, reinforcement, and moral rules. The functional rule regulates the sequence of the Proppian functions, creating a logical order and the binary opposition in them. The values and meanings are transmitted through this logical sequence and binary oppositions. The moral rule demarcates the good functions (actions) from the bad, demanding heroes and false heroes in a moral binary opposition. This contrast enacts moral meaning through the connection between action and morality. The reinforcement rule regulates the conveyance of values and meaning by creating a relation between action and outcome. These three rules dominate the construction of the Proppian functions by a cause-effect linkage between action, morality and reinforcement to achieve a manageable but self-evident logic, which the narrative is created to embody. This characteristic has great significance for modelling. It should be noticed that the binary structure is the most important narrative structure for meaning and value transmission. It permeates all aspects of the Proppian functions. The tables presented above explain the point.

The binary structure and the Proppian functions are influenced by genre. The cliches of genre not only largely affect what kind of Proppian function is to be presented in a narrative, but also affect the relation between action, morality and reinforcement. In the Chinese heroic genre, which might be produced from human desire for order and control, the most important of the Proppian functions is ascend vs. descend. The three narrative rules regulate the Proppian functions to form a definite and individual relation between action, morality and reinforcement. To be precise, the Proppian functions of the hero should completely contrast with those of the false heroes. In science-fiction Gothic like Jurassic Park, a genre which might be produced from human desire for mystery and romance, the most important Proppian function is survive vs. die. The three narrative rules regulate the Proppian functions to form a generalized and contingent relation between action, morality and reinforcement. These two relations have different influences on modelling. A detailed description of them is presented in chapter seven.

Beyond doubt, genre also influences the kind of related value to be presented. The values presented in the Proppian functions differ in each genre. The first genre focuses upon justice vs. injustice; the second genre focuses upon responsibility vs. irresponsibility. These differences are elaborately discussed in the analysis of the text elements of each movie. An exploration of narrative and culture can also be found in chapter seven.

7 NARRATIVE, MODELLING AND CULTURE

This chapter concerns the interrelations between narrative, culture and modelling. The purpose is to give a sound account of modelling and its narrative and cultural factors. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is an extensive discussion of the informational function of the character as a value model upon the transmission of values, and about three premises for a character to become a value model. The second part briefly compares Chinese and American cultures in respect of narrative presentation, in an attempt to achieve a better understanding of the issue of values.

7.1 FROM NARRATIVE CHARACTERS TO VALUE MODELS

7.1.1 CHARACTERS AND INFORMATION FUNCTIONS

From chapter five and six it is clear that a character functions as a value model through the binary oppositions in the character's actions and relationships with narrative roles, other characters and other formulaic elements such as location, costume, locomotion and weaponry. That Mao is known as a good man and Chiang is known as a bad man is cognitively constructed from the binary relations existing in the actions and counter-actions of the hero and the false hero, who have different narrative roles in their contexts. The transformation of characters and narrative roles creates the contingency of the character's action, and puts every action in a specific situation, making each narrative role distinctive and situational. In Three Decisive Campaigns the character of Chiang Kai-shek actually plays the following narrative roles: president, commander-in-chief, father, husband, and grandfather. Grant in Jurassic Park is a palaeontologist, lover, and surrogate father, and so on. These narrative roles always change according to the specific narrative context, in which sense the narrative context resembles the social context.

Furthermore, as I mentioned before, characters are not merely seen as "role fillers" (Holbek, 1987, p.416). They always experience a kind of tension between roles, and roles and virtual egos. This tension reflects real social conflicts, which are involved in many value issues in a given society; as Holbek says "the possession of a role is a tale value" (ibid.).

Thus narrative roles reflect three sets of links from the viewpoint of Bandura's theory, that is, person, behaviour and environment. Viewing a particular character provides knowledge about these three kinds.

The first refers to the knowledge of role norms in a certain society. Since the relationship between a character and a narrative role could reflect the relationship between a person and his social roles, the role norms and values involved in the relationships between characters and their narrative roles provide some information for observers about how they may act in the same role in dealing with interpersonal issues.

Social roles are primarily demarcated by sex, age, and status. A person plays many different social roles in the course of life. For a person, especially a teenager, vicarious experience of role knowledge is very important, because it would be too late if he gained this knowledge from his own experience. Narrative roles could serve this purpose. In Three Decisive Campaigns, the relevant role norms are communicated through the transformation of narrative roles when the character of Mao Ze-dong acts as a chairman of the Communist Party, male hero, rival, father, friend, student, and so on, as also in the character of Chiang Kai-shek.

Narrative roles not only provide knowledge about the social norms in one's own society, but also knowledge of the social norms in other societies. For example, Jurassic Park provides the role norms of females through the characters of Sattler and Lex, and of parent roles in an American society through the characters of Grant, Malcolm and Sattler. This knowledge might be more useful for value change. Evidence can be also found in the sampling of the two Chinese schools. Students in the Guangzhou school emphasize how important it is for them to get all kinds of information from viewing American science-fiction and other films.

Plenty of knowledge about role norms derives from by viewing various generic narratives. Different genres have different heroes. In the Chinese monarch narratives, heroes and false heroes are always politicians. In the science-fiction narratives, they are scientists, in American westerns, cowboys, in hard-boiled detective narratives, detectives. Almost all social roles can be found in narrative roles. Every viewer can pick up knowledge relevant to his present and future roles in a certain time, space and context, and obtain some prediction about his playing the likely roles, as research on modelling proves. Bandura concluded from his experimental study, "Observers use model similarity as one piece of information for judging likely commonality of response" (Bandura, 1986, p.297).

The second kind of knowledge is about contextually predictive knowledge, which is inferred from the correlation between environmental cues and observed response outcomes. This knowledge is very important for modelling because judgements of probable modelled action is also "on the basis of situational factors that provide some indication of how a behaviour is likely to be received" (Bandura, 1986, p.298). Seeing a movie can help a viewer acquire such knowledge. Any narrative in a movie has formulaic elements. It is mostly like a real life event. A narrative has characters, who are involved with thematic conflicts, time, locations, outcomes and so on. From the viewpoint of Bandura's social learning theory, it actually reflects the contingencies of actions with complicated situations and outcomes. Through a rich experience of various generic narratives, the viewer gets to know who, in what circumstances, is rewarded or punished. This contextual knowledge of vicarious reinforcement experience helps the person to deal with similar situations in real life, especially where he has no enactive experience of it (Bandura, 1986).

To some extent, a movie character in a narrative is more effective than a real-life model for modelling and value learning. As I mentioned in chapter six, a narrative is written according to the narrative rules. Different genres have their own cliches regarding these rules. But there is a general principle governing the divergent rules, that is, every movie narrative is a moral tale and follows its narrative logic. It makes every effort to answer such questions through a cause-effect relationship between action, situation, outcome and morality as who is rewarded or punished? How and why? The viewer infers by the narrative logic, and eventually gains not only knowledge of the contingencies of action with situation and outcome, but also knowledge of moral reasoning.

7.1.2 THREE PREMISES FOR AN EFFECTIVE MOVIE MODEL

Research on film semiotics and modelling reveals that reality, rationality and efficacy are basic premises for a narrative to produce an effective model for viewers (Nöth, 1990; Stam, Burgoyne & Flitterman-Lewis, 1992; Bandura, 1969; 1973; 1986). These three criteria refer to the influences of social, semiotic and psychological factors which promote the transformation of a character to a value model. This section concentrates on this point through an analysis of the two movies and the sampling.

Character And Reality. The reality of a character involves how film uses its "imperfect reflection of reality" (Ulrich, 1986) to convince its viewers of a "real story" through the character presented. These characteristics are important

because before the viewer makes any decision about model selection and matching, she or he must accept the character as deserving her or his serious attention; that is, not consider it silly or outlandish.

Semiotically, realism in visual arts has been a hotly debated issue, which can be traced back to Descartes' notion of "a text with subjectivity" (Hietala, 1990, pp. 27-28). Post-1968 theories mainly centre on the three approaches of the mediation thesis, Marxism, and structuralism (Lapsley & Westlake, 1988, p.157). The first approach argues that cinema is simply mediation between reality and the spectator by means of conventions. In this sense, the characters presented in the stories under consideration here have their common features at the levels of both "genre" and "fabula" (Eco, 1990, p.74). Thus "conventionality is the condition on which the bargain of the suspension of disbelief is struck with the audience" (Spark, p.1992, p.147). In other words, there is "no realism but there are realisms" (Lapsley & Westlake, 1988, p.159). Marxism maintains that all "realisms" rely on a conception of ontology and epistemology (Lovell, 1980). Realism, in nature, is the "authentic realism". In Heath's words, it is a kind of feeling or perspective about a series of social, political and ideological disruptions. Realism thus means "the ideological homogenisation" (Heath, 1975/76, p.35). The structuralist, such as Maccabe, assumes that realism should be defined by a certain textual organisation whose effect was to position the reader. It is language that organises reality (Lapsley & Westlake, 1988, p.177). The concepts used to study of the reality of characters are drawn from the main conceptions of these three approaches, social relevance, audience familiarity, and narrative plausibility (characterized plausibility and scientific plausibility).

THREE DECISIVE CAMPAIGNS. A character in stories or in films has a dual nature, rendered from the combination of "fictional facts with truthful fiction" (Autikainen et alii, 1996, p.30). Fact and fiction are symbiotically interwoven to create a certain value model in a film and television show. In this sense, the character in a film just presents an "image of reality" or a "produced reality" (Rustanius, 1993, pp.11-14). This produced reality of the hero is based, on the one hand, upon the ideology and values of the ruling group in a given society; on the other hand, it is idealized by the filmmaker to express a wish or desire for a better society. An effective model in this kind of film just fulfils both purposes. These characteristics of reality suit the genre of the heroic film well. In the movie, the ideological effect produced by the conjunction of the image and the doxa of Communist and Confucianist ideas is coherently presented as the approved ideology in a given society, and simultaneously idealized by the fictional model of the hero. Hence the hero, Mao Ze-dong, a representative

figure rooted in a special historical time and mainly dealing with the class conflict, is an idealized person who is different from the real one but appears as "real". The heroic personal life in the movie is caught up in and responsive to such forces. From such a point of view, some ideologically stressed images and shots, such as the collective leadership and greatness of the Communist Party, the brilliant profile of Mao, how Mao and his generals devote themselves to the liberation of the people and the lofty cause, are the reflection of the ruling ideology, and meanwhile fulfil the wish of both film-maker and audience. This function of the movie is a vital premise for modelling because it produces "the ideological homogenisation" between the text and the viewer.

It should be noticed that ideological relevance plays a double function both in the reality and rationality of a character. This is a most important premise for a character to become an effective value model. Evidence also can be found in the reason parts of the questionnaire.

Genre, Audience Familiarity And Reality. So-called audience familiarity is a kind of convention gained from the redundant experience of viewing a particular genre. It tells us whether the character and story we watch "ring true with the stories we know in our lives" (Fisher, 1984, p.8). That is to say, the conventions of characters refer to recognition of the need for audience familiarity with the plot, order, outcome, and view of the world. As Thorburn (1987, p.637) points out: "most members of the TV audience have lived through the whole history of the medium. They know its habits, its formulas, its stars and its recurring character actors..."

Audience familiarity has a significant function in modelling, because it influences viewers' "imaged reality". In art appearance has its special validity. A hero is one who looks like a hero. In the sense of reality, what matters to the spectator is whether the hero confirms to the image of man who belongs to a rigidly conventionalized world. The proper function of reality in a movie relies heavily on genre.

Every genre uses its own cliches and conventions to build up reality. Reality, in some sense, "is an art form for connoisseurs, where the spectator derives his pleasure from the appreciation of minor variations within the working out of a preestablished order" (Mast, Cohen & Braudy, 1992, p.461). In dragon myths, monarch literature and movies like Three Decisive Campaigns, all value models are composed of a common and finite set of discursive resources which provide for the presence of narrative pattern and the order of the world at the levels of

plot, outcome and of the relations between the characters. In all cases the narratives try to convince viewers that the world order is not good, that people live in a dangerous and nasty world, that their lives are always threatened by immoral dragons, monarchs and rulers. Hence the intervention of heroes is not only necessary but urgent and inevitable. In Three Decisive Campaigns, the use of scenes of supportive people, the Yellow River's torrent and the speeches of Mao and Chiang, as well as the commentary the film uses to impress viewers, typically express the point that heroes are the guarantors of justice and of a good world.

The second convention or audience familiarity of such narratives is heroism and triumphalism, which are part of what marks the story as fictive. The masculine attribute connecting with the qualities of conformity to the "Mandate of Heaven", benevolent governing, competence and moral integrity is the vital part of heroism. The sequence of the heroic stories is thus routinely a hero rebelling, fighting against an immoral ruler, and triumphing. The outcome of an immoral ruler is quite finite. The resolution towards which the narrative tends is usually identical with death, or capture or escape. Unlike the traditional literature, the movie declares that the triumph of the hero is the triumph of the proletariat. As proletariat means masses and people, through this transformation of the personified triumph into a triumph of the masses, the model arouses a feeling in the audience such that he or she is the right person belonging to the proletariat. This psychological transposition of a viewer into a subject both turns the author's reality into the audience's reality, and gives the spectators the moral, aesthetic and affective satisfaction required to strengthen model learning.

It is worth emphasizing that analysis of the reasons why adolescents prefer the movie gives sufficient evidence that the movie is so consistent with audience familiarities that most of the subjects consider the characters of Mao, Chiang and their generals real persons. The virtual reality works as a "real" reality, the make-believe becomes truth, both in turn creating a new reality through the viewers' modelling behaviour. Furthermore, my study shows that the recognition of such conventions or familiarities itself is emotion-arousing. Teenagers still feel "exciting", "inspired", "smart" and "touched" when they watch this kind of heroic film or television show. The great satisfactions which audiences get are not only from its salience but from the familiarity or redundancy at the levels of plot, characters, values, order, and outcomes. As Eco points out, "the greatest pleasure arises not from excitement but from relief" (Eco, 1979, p. 167).

In addition, the film-makers made every effort to strengthen audience familiarity

by an exaggerated use of formulaic elements and some cinematic techniques, such as characterization and casting. The following section concerns these issues.

Casting, Characterized Plausibility And Reality. One of the vital features of Three Decisive Campaigns is elitism. All the characters are celebrated and influential historical Chinese figures of recent times. Some of them were presidents, some were prime ministers and ministers, others were the marshals and generals. A few are still alive. Audiences are familiar with at least some aspects of them, such as their appearance, birthplace, hobbies and their manner of talking and walking. Casting thus becomes a vital element of characterization in producing a "verisimilar world" (Eco, 1990). In order to solve this problem, the film-makers use tags to individualize a character with special characteristics of appearance and mannerism (Miller, 1980, p.88). They carefully choose those actors who bore strong resemblances to the real persons. The main actors speak the same dialects as the real persons do. They imitate their poses and gestures. Second, the filmmakers exaggerate some real habits and hobbies of the real persons. In the movie the hobbies of Mao Ze-dong, such as swimming, listening to the Beijing opera, eating pork meat braised in soy sauce and pushing stone mills, are repeatedly emphasized. Other examples include the exaggerations of Deng Xiao-ping's study background in France, Zhou En-lai's way of holding his right hand because of his wound, general Chen Yi's liking for poems, and Chiang Kai-shek's pet phrase "fuck you". The exaggerations of the habits of the real persons, combined with some superficial characterizations, some chips of historical fact, real places and the narrative conventions, as well as the delicate variations of close-ups, close shots, medium shots and long shots, make the models more "real" and powerful. There is no doubt that teenagers consider them "true" and "want to learn from them".

JURASSIC PARK. Jurassic Park, in terms of social reality, poses a life-death threat that humans have experienced since prehistoric times. People have never felt safe in the world. They are always threatened with death not only by diseases, fierce animals, and natural calamities, but also by the social disasters they themselves create such as war, poverty, and violence.

In ancient times Chinese people tried to find "jade water" and the "fruit of life" to become immortal in order to be free of natural and social threats (Tao Yang & Zhong Xiu, 1991, P.642). Cherishing such a hope, they imagined the Peng Lai Paradise, a parallel with Milton's Eden which westerners wished for, while also placing their hope on a sage-emperor.

But the sense of losing the earthly Paradise is much stronger in modern times. The mightiest disaster is not from the natural kingdom but from the man's abuse of science for power and money. Apart from nuclear weapons, biochemical bombs and pollution, the biggest threat to the existence of modern man is from a scientific gold rush: "the headlong and furious haste to commercialize genetic engineering" in the late twentieth century (Crichton, 1991, p.1). Broad-based, frivolous, uncontrolled and commercialized genetic research results in a genetic crisis in modern times which still draws little public attention but is going to destroy the planet surreptitiously. The film exposes this worldwide social fact and poses the sensitive social issue of who should take responsibility for this genetic gold rush, capitalists or scientists or politicians? Meanwhile, the film expresses a deep concern about the terrible consequence of science contaminated by the commercial society.

It is also noticed that the film, through repeatedly presenting shots of the amber, warns us that although the survivors fled Jurassic Park, the threats to the security and order of society still exist. How such threats can be got rid of always haunts people in modern times.

Genre, Audience Familiarity And Reality. I have described quite a number of cliches in science-fiction Gothic in analysing the narrative structure of the movie in chapter six. These cliches are important for the reality of particular characters, because they provide a kind of audience familiarity. Among them, the most important convention that I would like to reiterate is the fear and threats from the external world posed by aliens. Aliens in the movie mean misused science, the cloned dinosaur. But on the social level, aliens, now in most Western countries, also represent a fear of foreigners, anxiety about the invasion of alien cultures, races and religions "contaminating" national purity and identity. The movie exaggerates this insecurity and concern through a radical shift in structuring the story from a focus on characters as the source of action to the environment and external factors. This turns the science fiction into a thriller to express the idea of Dystopia (Clute & Nicholls, 1995).

As the first genre, heroic movies, attempts to alleviate the viewer's fear and to promote the modelled behaviour by conventionally rewarding the heroic intervention and triumph, the second genre of the movie represents just the opposite. Jurassic Park and other science fictions however conventionally use victimization to produce an inhibitory effect on avoidance behaviour. In such a genre, actually, there is no real hero. I call it "the death of the hero". Every character in the fiction is a potential victim. Whether a character can escape or

will be a victim of the alien depends on the contingency. In this sense, the produced reality of science fiction is closer to the real world than the first genre. But it is still a "handicapped and small world" (Eco, 1990, p. 74). This kind of fictional world is neither true nor ideal as in the heroic genre, but is "possible" in the viewers' imagination (Turner, 1977). The characteristics of this kind of movie compared with the first are to play up the horror of the external factors, such as aliens and environment excessively, to strengthen the aesthetic valence through the uncertain fate of the characters and thrilling plot at the cost of a relatively simple description of the characters and of a certain flexibility and superficiality in using scientific information. These characteristics have a powerful effect on the reality of the models at the discourse level. Such a text seems to tell its readers: "Trust me. Do not be too subtle and take what I tell you as if it were true" (Eco, 1990, p.75). The narrative thus situates the viewers and is authenticated by them, and finally actualizes the transformation of the produced reality into the subjective reality.

It is worth noticing that my investigation demonstrates this characteristic. In the questionnaire the subjects place a very high value on the entertainment and knowledge of the movie (frequency 61). A flexible and superficial application of scientific knowledge to enforce the reality of the models is discussed in the next section.

Scientific Plausibility And Reality. As I mentioned above, in Three Decisive Campaigns the filmmaker makes a felicitous use of casting to strengthen the reality of the characters. In Jurassic Park the alternative submits to a flexible and superficial use of scientific information. As the narrative technique, the reality of the first genre is grounded on the combination of what is known and what is idealized; while the reality of the latter genre is grounded on the combination of what is known and what is possible. That is to say, in order to make the models appear more real, the heroic fiction must be at least plausible in characterization. The science fiction must be "scientifically plausible" (Ochoa & Osier, 1993, p. 1). In the movie there are sufficient examples to show how well these two aspects are fabricated. As the movie is a biogenetic one, the palaeontologist and genetic research on dinosaurs and the relation between their extinction and their ecological niches are vital. Thus one highlight of the movie is the cloning process itself. As the dinosaur died out millions of years ago, scientists can hardly get enough DNA to clone it from the fossilized cells. This necessitates the notion of extracting the DNA from the blood of both the mosquito in the amber and the frog. This produced reality is simply based on the mixture of the scientific truth that the DNA can be got from the blood of such a creature and the possibility that

it might be got from the blood of mosquitoes and frogs some day, since there is a common notion that mosquitoes sip the blood of all kinds of animals, and that some of them dying in the amber might preserve the blood of the dinosaur. In addition, from the viewpoint of biology, dinosaurs belong to the reptilia, frogs to the amphibians. Biology tells us that these creatures share a common ancestry. This means that the genes of each species will be more or less shared with those of related species. Getting some substitute DNA for the dinosaur from the blood of the frog is thus a possibility based on the superficiality of the science.

A further focus is on the fertility of the cloned dinosaurs. According to the researcher who clones the dinosaurs, all of them in the park are female and rendered infertile by radiation treatment. However, it turns out that the dinosaurs are breeding. This flexibility in using scientific knowledge to fabricate this fiction is the second example. The produced reality is conceived from the biological truth that some African frog's chromosomes can be programmed to change sex when there are only males or females, and that all creatures will struggle to fill the niches in the ecosystem by competition, migration and reproduction.

The combination of scientific knowledge and imagination in science fiction film can also be illustrated in the making of dinosaurs. The rendering of dinosaur characters, from initial pencil sketches through three-dimensional maquettes to final models, is a sensational creation in science-fiction movies. The use of advanced computer animation technology and mechanical understructures for rendering make dinosaurs more vivid and real. Although the thrust and the action is more important for the movie, "scientific accuracy was ensured for the entire production ... by the commissioning of a paleontologist (Duncan, 1997, p.25)." Winston, the director of the Winston studio said, "We were very concerned that whatever we came up with made sense scientifically, so we drew from the science of paleontology, but since that science is limited in detail and has to rely only on bone and structures and hypothesis, we also drew from nature ... The third thing we pulled from, of course, was imagination and instinct. No one really knows what these animals looked like; but our instincts told us if what we'd come up with made sense (ibid)."

There are a lot of such examples in the movie. Scenes, including a cloned Brachiosaurus walking on long legs with its tail held high as a elephant, a Tyrannosaurus rex chasing after the jeep, and Velociraptors pack-hunting, are all grounded upon the new palaeontological findings that the dinosaur is now believed to be warm-blooded, mobile, agile, and intelligent (Ochoa & Osier,

1993, pp. 149-150). In short, the scientific plausibility convinces the viewers to accept what the movie suggests. It is under such conditions that the models in the movies may have their effects on modelling selection.

It should be noticed that the scientific plausibility characterized in the science fiction is based on imaginary science. Although this is not the same as truly scientific research, neither it is the same as wrong science. Compared with most movies and television shows, science fictions have higher standards of scientific accuracy. This explains why the teenagers in the sample placed a high value on the knowledge valence of the movie.

Character And Rationality. The rationality of the character provides an explanation of the reasoning behind the viewers' model selection. It is determined by the four factors of the value model: prevalent, informative, aesthetic and affective valences. They determine the degree of importance and seriousness of the modelled event. According to Fisher, any important and serious modelled events should have "good reasons" which are warrants for belief or action (Fisher, 1987).

> Reasons are good when they are as (1) true to and consistent with what we think we know and what we value, (2) appropriate to whatever decision is pending, (3) promising in effects for ourselves and others, and, (4) consistent with what we believe is an ideal basis for conduct (ibid., 1978, p. 194).

Obviously Fisher's four criteria are only concerned with the value and effect ingredients of the model. Bandura defines them as "prevalence" and "function value" (Bandura, 1986, pp. 51-54). The other two predictors are "affective valence" and "complexity" (ibid.). The following discussion centres on these points.

THREE DECISIVE CAMPAIGNS. In Three Decisive Campaigns, the value models of Mao Ze-dong, the generals, soldiers and common people are qualified by the criterion of "prevalence" or "good reasons", as they are consistent with Chinese "social censures" or conventions and common values. This gives them a high degree of importance and seriousness in the viewers' value repertoires. As I mentioned in the previous section, the values presented in the characters of the movie exhibit little change compared with those in the dragon myths and monarch literature. The reason portion of the questionnaire, a prominent value preference to the models of Mao Ze-dong and his generals appears. They justify them as "great leaders", "heroes", and "saviours". They especially appreciate values such as patriotism, heroism, talent, benevolence, achievements, sacrifice, wisdom, bravery, persistence and friendship. The reasons why the adolescents

prefer the movie certainly demonstrate Bandura's four predictors. For the predictor of "prevalence", the answers centre on the following reasons concerning ideology and ethics (frequency 34).

1. I like the movie (Three Decisive Campaigns) best because it presents brilliant images of the great leaders of recent times.

2. Because it is the movie which teaches us patriotism.

3. Because it presents the wisdom and talent of Mao Ze-dong and his generals.

4. Because I was attracted by Mao's genius and achievements.

5. Because it reflects the function of the common people in the development of history.

6. Because it presents the heroic bearing of the people.

7. Because it presents the harmonious relations between Mao and his generals.

8. Because Mao was the great leader of the Chinese revolution.

9. Because I know that our happiness today is based on the sacrifices of many revolutionaries who devoted themselves to establishing a new China.

10. Because I want to learn the good qualities of the revolutionary martyrs.

As for the predictor of complexity, the answers in my study focus on the informative valence of the models. Many subjects stress the necessity of knowing history. The reasons are all around this point (frequency 26).

1. I like the movie best because I want to know the history of that time.

2. Because it is a historical epic.

3. Because it reflects a great era.

4. Because I want to know about the civil war between the CPC and the KMT.

Some of the subjects emphasize the affective and aesthetic valences of the movies. They like the movies because of "the impressive and grand scenery", "because they made me burn with righteous indignation", and "because I felt inspired with enthusiasm" (frequency 17).

Out of 80 (n= 152) subjects who chose this movie as their favourite, there are 34 subjects who emphasize the prevalence and ideology presented in the movie, 26

subjects who emphasize the informative valence, 17 subjects the aesthetical and affective valences, and there are three subjects who gave no reason. Generally speaking, the adolescents in the sample put the ethical valence of the models above the informative and aesthetic valences. This trend is also shown in the other eight movies, especially the domestic ones. But it should be noticed that there is a significant difference between the two schools. In the Guangzhou high school, out of 42 (n= 97) subjects who chose Three Decisive Campaigns, only 12 subjects reported the valence of ideological prevalence as the reason for their choices. These account for 29%. There are 15 subjects emphasizing the affective and aesthetic valences, and 12 subjects emphasizing the informative valence, three subjects gave no reasons. But in the suburban school of Nanchang County, out of 38 (n= 52), there are 22 (58%) subjects who emphasize the ethical valence of this movie, 14 who emphasize the informative valence, and only two who emphasize the aesthetic valence. This difference is also shown in the other eight favourite movies.

This justifies the conclusion that any effective movie model should have sound rationalizations, which are consistent with the prevalent values in a given society, satisfy the informative, aesthetic and affective needs of the viewers, and offer an anticipated outcome of similar action. It is on such conditions that we might say that the model has rationality. The model with rationality will influence the model selection and matching. The narrative analysis of the movie and the sampling provide further evidence of universality of Bandura's model determinants.

JURASSIC PARK. The philosophical quest of Jurassic Park for modern society, especially for man and nature, and morality and social order, has some striking similarities to Confucianism and Taoism, which are the origin of Chinese thought, beliefs and values. These similarities give the viewers "good reasons" for choosing the models.

First, through as a negative model Hammond and a description of how intelligent the dinosaur is the movie, reveals the superficiality and arrogance of human beings, thus questioning some assumptions man has taken for granted since the industrial revolution began. One of the highlights is humans' self-concept. Compared with some science fictions like The War of The Worlds, this movie gives more profound revelation because it even demolishes the human illusion that man is a great intelligent creature on the earth, let alone in the universe.

Another highlight of the movie is the way of human thought. There has been a

cherished scientific belief since Newton that prediction and determination is a function of keeping track of things. Humans are used to controlling things because they think that if they know enough, they can predict anything. The movie makes it plain that things cannot be predicted, just as the destruction of Jurassic Park resulted from the accident of not being able to know enough since "we expect to banish paper, but we actually banish thought" (Crichton, 1991, p. 74). These ideas are resonant with the Taoist concept of "self-knowledge". As Lao Zi said, "The person who knows himself is intelligent ... The person who can overcome his weakness is resolute" (Dao De Jing, chapter 33). And the way of getting better knowledge of oneself is to "return to the state of a babe" (Dao De Jing, chapter 28;). That means that a person first has to use the way of intuition to get rid of the preoccupations, illusions and mistaken beliefs, then he can realize that like a babe, he is actually not intelligent but innocent, not superior but inferior, not a master of nature but a child of it.

Second, Jurassic Park presents a philosophical account of the relation between human and nature. Its plot, characters and consequence tells viewers that nature should not be tampered with. If it is, the victim is not nature but the human beings themselves. The development of science has changed human attitude towards nature. Since then the human has become separate from nature, become a rival, and worst of all, a despoiler of nature. This split and rivalry between man and nature is becoming worse in modern genetic times. It results in a critical ecological crisis which threatens the existence of humans. The purpose of the movie is to require humans to reflect on this issue, and to find a way to deal with the problems. The philosophical underpinning of the movie is coincidental with Confucius' "harmony between Heaven and nature" and Lao Zi's "no action that goes against nature" (Wu Wei). Lao Zi's words "man follows the ways of earth, earth follows the ways of Heaven, Heaven follows the ways of Tao, Tao follows the ways of nature" (Dao De Jing, chapter 25) point out a proper way.

Third, the movie also presents philosophical thinking about morality and the social order. It discloses a common social phenomenon in a modern commercial time, that is, people are severely corrupted by money. They are excessively greedy like Nedry. This degeneration of morality is one of the scourges of society. In this sense, Confucius' concept of humanity (ren) or "moral perfectibility"and Lao Zi's notion of "being contented" and "temperance" have new significance in the modern age.

On the moral level, Jurassic Park poses the ethical question of whether humans should violate the divine law by creating life. If so, is it moral or immoral? The

film's narrative rationalizations and its reinforcing consequences tell the viewers that humans must not create life, that they must not tamper with natural processes in this area, and that if they do, they actually "rape the natural world" (Malcolm's term in the film), and things will turn out terribly. The ethical explanations shift the conflicts between human and nature to the conflict between the morality and immorality of the characters. The solution urgently calls for the Confucianist golden rule that the social order can only be maintained by morality. This ideological and philosophical base provides the "good reason" for the viewers to judge the movie models, their related values, the reinforcing outcomes and narrative rationalizations in the film. In this way the film influences observational learning.

Dinosaur And Dragon. The word "Dinosaur" etymologically means "horrifying reptile". Michael Crichton quoted the definition formulated by the biologist Linnaeus to describe its evil characteristics as a preface to his novel. "Reptiles are abhorrent because of their cold body, pale colour, cartilaginous skeleton, filthy skin, fierce aspect, calculating eyes, offensive smell, harsh voice, squalid habitation, and terrible venom; therefore their Creator has not exerted his powers to make many of them" (Crichton, 1992, p.i).

In Chinese the word for "dinosaur" is "horrifying dragon". The similarities between dragon and dinosaur are real enough. Like the dragon in the Chinese myths described in the previous chapter, the dinosaur has powerful claws, a long snake-like neck and big tail. Some, like the Stegosaur, have horns. Some, like Dilophosaurus could spit poison venom as dragon did. Others could even fly like winged dragons.

Although the cloned dinosaur is a man-made animal from an alien and remote world, and a dragon in the Chinese culture symbolizes a kind of supernature created by nature, in the political sense they mainly function as scapegoats to personify complex social antagonism. Thus, if the creature is blameworthy, this is because evil men create it. By the same token, if the society is blameworthy, this is because of immoral political leaders. The scapegoat plays a vital role in stabilizing society through two functions. On the one hand, by showing the immorality of some elitists, it persuades the public of its moral superiority in order to ease social tension. On the other hand, the scapegoat helps the public form the "social censures" (Sumner, 1990), which as "matters of moral-political judgement" (Sumner, 1990, p.25), provide conventional reasons which only "signify, denounce and regulate, but not explain" (ibid., p.28) the social conflicts to the public by separating the offenders from non-offenders (ibid.).

Film and television thus encode a dismissive elite valuation and value standard and actualize it in practice through creating the scapegoat and hero. This conventional similarity between dinosaurs and dragons at this point might explain one of the reasons why the Chinese teenagers prefer this movie.

From the viewpoint of psychology, dinosaurs and dragons are superpowers. These giant creatures personified the uncontrollable force of looming authority. They are both symbols of authority, fascinating and frightening. Therefore while children love them because they have mighty powers, they also want to know them to escape their control. For example, children like to name different dinosaurs and dragons and to distinguish their habits. Saying these complicated names is a way of exerting power over the authority, a way of being in control by creating the image of some kind of "alienated youth". In this sense, the dinosaur and dragon movies both meet the teenager's need for identity in his or her psychological development.

Salience And Rationality. In the investigation, the reasons why the teenagers like the movie are centred on the salient characteristic. Compared with Three Decisive Campaigns, where the subjects stressed the ideological valence, Jurassic Park is highly valued for its aesthetic valences. Out of 69 teenagers who chose the movie as their favourite, 43 subjects, accounting for 62.3%, gave first priority to the aesthetic valence, except that seven gave no reasons. The four aspects of the aesthetic valence were important.

1. The movie has a very high aesthetic level (frequency 9).

2. The movie is so salient that it opens up new horizons (frequency 9).

3. The movie is very exciting (frequency 21).

4. The movie is quite interesting. (frequency 4).

The second most important reason is the informative valence. Eighteen subjects, accounting for 26%, thought that the movie was an impetus to imagination and knowledge. They recorded the following statements in the questionnaire.

1. I like the movie because it teaches me a great deal of scientific knowledge (frequency 8).

2. Because it presents a new scientific world of which I know little (frequency

3. Because it stimulates my imagination (frequency 5).

4. Because it provides me with a new way of thinking (frequency 2).

The preference investigation further shows Bandura's finding that salience and the function values are the important characteristics of the movie model. But there are some obvious differences between the two movie genres. As I emphasized in the previous section, the models in Three Decisive Campaigns tend to be redundant, conventional, prevalent, ideological, informative and aesthetic, while in the second genre, the models are of salience, prevalence, aesthetic and informative valences. In both genres the characteristics of prevalence, aesthetic and informative valences are highly valued as the "good reasons". This reveals the basic prerequisites for model selection and preference. In other words, any effective model, in the eyes of adolescents, should at least be consistent with the prevailing beliefs, values, ideology, and concerned with some current social issues. Besides, they should satisfy the need for aesthetics and knowledge. The importance of the informative valence is precisely in agreement with several nationwide studies (Li Bo-shu, 1992, Wang Xing-ling, 1987). This research disclosed that achievement and wisdom are the most important values for Chinese high school students, both juniors and seniors.

Character And Efficacy. The efficacy of a character means the outcome effect. Not every character has a reinforcing outcome. Some may imply neither reward nor punishment. The outcome of the character can thus be rewarded, ignored, or punished. Research on vicarious learning shows that the reinforcement produced by positive and negative outcomes has effects on values and behaviour (Bandura, 1973, 1986). This study focuses upon reinforcing outcomes of characters, but not upon non-reinforcing outcomes.

Reinforcing outcomes of characters are very important to vicarious learning, because modelling depends heavily on the efficacy of characters. "Results of numerous studies show that rewarded modelling is generally more effective than modelling alone in fostering similar patterns of behaviour" (Bandura, 1986, p. 285). The models presented in Three Decisive Campaigns and Jurassic Park vindicate Bandura's argument. The point is that the analysis of the outcomes of the characters in these movies not only provides the evidence, but also emphasizes in what situation or context the reinforcing outcomes are critical factors for model selection.

THREE DECISIVE CAMPAIGNS. In this movie there are three levels of outcome. The first level is the outcome of a hero and false hero, the second level is the outcome of a hero's helpers and the false hero's helpers, while the third level is the outcome of the masses and soldiers of each side.

In the movie the outcomes of Mao Ze-dong and Chiang Kai-shek are pivotal. These are not isolated, but interact with the outcomes of their generals and soldiers. The movie thus engages with these relations and offers a binary opposition of the two lines.

On the side of Mao Ze-dong, there is a crucial outcome of General Lin Biao's action in The Liao Shen Campaign. The movie impresses viewers deeply with the several changes of Lin's attitude towards Mao's order to attack Jinzhou and the differing outcomes of his disobedience and obedience. The negative and positive outcomes of Lin's actions not only convey the political and ideological valence of the movie, but also anticipate of the likely behaviour for viewers. Indubitably, the movie ends with Mao becoming the ruler of China, and with his generals belonging to the ruling class. As for Chiang Kai-shek, except Chiang fleeing to the south, three of seven generals who are involved in The Campaigns are captured, two are shot, one is a betrayer and one a fugitive. Even Chiang's senior adviser, Chen Bu-lei, commits suicide.

The outcomes of characters on both sides are so contrasting that they reveal a consequential convention of the heroic narratives both in the literature and movies; that is, in the overwhelming number of cases, the good will win, while the bad will lose or be punished. Thus, a person's moral deed has a causal relationship with his or her fate. The movie, through the causal relationships presented in the different characters, embeds the inheritable beliefs and values in the viewers by repeatedly providing a distorted and idealized anticipation of their future. It is the idealized outcome of the hero that produces a vicarious reinforcement in the viewer's modelling behaviour. It is also worth emphasizing that the principal reward for the good in the movie is power and privilege, and the principal punishment for the bad is death or losing power.

TABLE 7.1 THE BINARY REINFORCING OUTCOMES OF MAO'S LINE AND CHIANG'S LINE

Models	Outcomes	Models	Outcomes
Mao Ze-dong	Ruler of China	Chiang Kai-shek	Fugitive
Liu Shao-qi	President	Chen Bu-lei	Suicide
Zhou En-lai	Premier	Du Yu-ming	Captive
Zhu De	Marshal	Huang Wei	Captive
Liu Bo-cheng	Marshal	Liao Yao-xan	Captive
Lin Biao	Marshal	Huang Bo-tao	Killed
Chen Yi	Marshal	Qiu Qing-quan	Killed
Den Xiao-ping	Minister	Fu Zhuo-yi	Betrayer
	President		

Frequency, Magnitude And Contingency of Reinforcement. Frequency and magnitude of reinforcement mean how much and how often the models are rewarded or punished. The common characteristics of the model reinforcement in most heroic narratives as in the reinforcing outcomes of the models in the dragon myths and monarch's literature are that the outcomes of a hero and a false hero are constantly and continuously reinforced by reward or punishment. The redundancy of the reinforcement effects is not only provided by the outcomes of the hero, false hero and their allies, but is also found in the outcomes of this kind of narrative. The constancy feature of the reinforcement effect influences model selection and preference by strengthening the viewers' attention and memory mechanisms, and by offering a clear view of anticipation of the likely behaviour. The study support Bandura's conclusion: "In most instances, customary outcomes are good predictors of behaviour because what people anticipate is accurately derived from and, therefore corresponds closely to, prevailing rules of reward" (Bandura, 1986, p. 229).

The magnitude of the reinforcement effects in the heroic narratives are greatest since such narratives concern power and privilege valued as the highest priorities in Chinese culture. There is no doubt that the model in Three Decisive Campaigns is efficient because its reinforcement is strong and high in both frequency and magnitude. It should be noticed that it is only one case for the efficacy of models in a conventional narrative context. Models in such narratives always have differentiated and definite reinforcing outcomes since the heroes are always the historical figures, who are usually winners in a particular historical time. Under such conditions, the good are constantly rewarded, while the bad are constantly punished. The moral deed brings reward, the immoral deed punishment. The frequency of reinforcement correlates positively to the magnitude of reinforcement, that is, the more often the model is rewarded, the greater is its reinforcement effect upon model selection and preference.

However, on the level of reinforcement contingency, the distortion of reinforcement and its contingency should be emphasized. The point is that this kind of narrative intentionally distorts the possible outcomes of the hero which would happen in real life. In a real situation, the hero may win or may not, and the false hero may be punished or may not. There is no definitive and unchangeable connection between moral deed and reward. Actually, the positive outcome of the hero not only relies on the morality of the hero, but also on the situational contingency. Narratives of this kind universalize the conditional outcomes of the hero and false hero by means of ideology, conventions, audience familiarity and cinematic or narrative techniques. In a narrative, only when the conditional outcome is distorted to the universal outcome, and the contingent connection between morality and reward is distorted to a predetermined one, does the outcome of a hero or a false hero execute its reinforcing effects on the viewer. What is important to model learning is not only the reinforced effect itself, but also the distortedly narrative context of the reinforcement. In this case, the reality of the model is a most important premise for the reinforcing effect of the outcome, since the contingency of reinforcement is castrated. In other words, there is no reinforcement contingency in this kind of narrative. But if we look at the reinforcing outcomes of Jurassic Park, we will find a different story.

JURASSIC PARK. Jurassic Park character outcomes have negative reinforcement. Compared with the reinforcement convention that "the good will win but the bad will be punished" in Three Decisive Campaigns, the reinforcement in Jurassic Park is more indiscriminate and inhibitory. Indiscrimination means that not all good persons will be rewarded and not all bad persons will be punished. Whether the character is rewarded or punished

depends largely on situation and coincidence. The inhibitory feature functions to reduce the viewer's performance of the kind of behaviour being modelled or to generally restrain him or her in the action through negative consequences. For example, in the movie all characters face the problem of life and death. Some of them like Nedry, Gennaro and the dinosaur-raiser died, while others except Hammond are hardput to survive. Malcolm, a mathematician with virtues, is severely hurt, Grant, Sattler and the two children are wounded.

Thus, in the movie the reward (escape) or punishment (death) is not a definite pattern determined by the morality of the characters. Unlike the heroic narratives in which a character's moral deed has a causal relation with his fate, this kind of movie exaggerates the situational effects and contingency to embed belief and values in the viewers by repeatedly presenting the severe punishment and negative feelings caused by the victimization of the characters. In this case there is no real hero. Every character faces a dangerous and critical situation, and nobody knows how to handle it, since no one has any idea or experience of dinosaurs and aliens.

The point is that this genre of narrative mainly deals with the conflict between human and nature, but the other deals with the conflict between man and man, man and society. One important principle in science fiction is to stick to the natural laws of this universe (Ochoa & Osier, 1993, p.2). Jurassic Park, as a movie about biogenetic issues, must insist on the principal law of evolution, that is, the history of life depends heavily on contingency. In other words, organisms evolve not randomly or deterministically, but in response to prior conditions (ibid.). Since the conditions can never be completely known or predicted, it is impossible to predict exactly how life will turn out. This principle might explain the characteristics of reinforcement in this kind of movie.

Apart from a strong contingency and ambiguous anticipation of the outcome, the magnitude of the reinforcement in the outcome is intense. This is because this kind of narrative always takes a life or death issue as its focus. The value of life is the most important in a person's value repertoire, regardless of race, nationality, culture and country. Furthermore, these fictions tend to be more salient at both the level of plots and cinematic techniques. According to Bandura, salient models strengthen the viewer's attention and memory, making it a good predictor of modelling behaviour (Bandura, 1986, p.51).

This kind of narrative occurs less frequently than the heroic narratives, especially in China. The sample has only three among the ten favourite movies, accounting

for 30%, but the heroic fictions account for 50%. It should be noticed that these three science fictions are mentioned only by the subjects in Guangzhou. In the Nanchang middle school, nearly all the movies are domestic, 98%(123), the heroic fictions accounting for an overwhelming, 69%(88), while there are no science fictions. Out of 52 subjects, there are only two who named one hard-boiled detective fiction from Hong Kong and two American feature films. This phenomenon might be explained by teenagers in Guangzhou having more chance to see foreign movies than the teenagers in suburban districts. But even in the Guangzhou middle school, the heroic fictions still occupy a very significant position. In the junior class, the domestic fictions mentioned account for 86%(108), heroic fiction, 33%(46), science fiction, 8%(12). In the senior class the domestic films account for 75%(102), heroic fiction, 37%(50), science fiction, 8%(11). From these figures, it can be assumed that science fiction has a negative correlation at the level of frequency and magnitude.

7.2 CONCLUSION

From the modelling viewpoint, a character in a movie provides the necessary information for viewers through his or her role transformation and their relationships with other formulaic elements. This information includes knowledge about role norms in a given society, vicarious reinforcing experience, and the contingencies applying between situation and behaviour.

An effective character should at least conform to the three premises of reality, rationality and efficacy. The analysis of the two movies and the sampling shows that the reality of the main characters is actualized mostly by ideological relevance, audience familiarity and narrative plausibility (characterized plausibility and scientific plausibility). The issue of rationality focuses upon the aspects of social prevalence and functional valences, such as information, aesthetics and affections. The issue of efficacy applies to the reinforcing outcome of a character in terms of quality, frequency, magnitude and contingency. These three premises can influence value acceptance and model selection because they reflect the relationship between person, environment and behaviour by providing the ideological, psychological and semiotic bases for viewer judgement.

7.3 FROM NARRATIVE TO CULTURE

The previous analysis of the narrative models in each movie reflects different cultural models. The narrative model is one important part of the cultural model, since language accounts for most cultural resources. Any narrative reflects particular beliefs, ways of thinking, values and ideals in a given culture. The movies considered here represent two cultural models in these respects. As most aspects have been discussed in the previous chapters, this section simply summarizes the events of the structure and text in the movies. Additional attention is paid to the particular film languages (images and dialogues) that each movie uses to reveal its cultural imprint.

7.3.1 CHINESE VS. AMERICAN CULTURE

One of the big differences in the two movies is the cultural focus. In Three Decisive Campaigns, many shots and dialogues are concentrated on ethics and morality. To be precise, it is not strictly a question of morality, since every movie, whether Chinese or American, is a moral tale, but it is a question of how morality is presented. In the movie the moral issue is emphasized in several distinct ways, as the goal of the ethical culture is to show the relationship between morality and the social and natural order.

In Chinese culture, nature is not an objective being, but a harmonious state between human and Heaven, subject and object. It is ethical and expresses the moral demands of humans. In essence, it is God humanized. In the Chinese movie shots of natural phenomena have ethical meanings. The shots of the Yellow river, the rising sun, rain, a silent night, flowers blossoming in spring in the village of Xi Bei Po, even horses and the Great Wall, all indicate the approval of Heaven. By contrast, the shots of the cold winter of 1947 and snow storms indicate the anger of Heaven.

However, American culture prefers the cognitive method of demarcation and classification to harmony and unification. Thus Jurassic Park presents a different conception of nature, that is, nature separate from the will of humans. It operates in its own way. The storm which results in the failure of the criminal plan and the freeing of the dinosaurs is just a coincidence. Nature does not work as a moral force. It cannot authenticate the morality of human actions.

Chinese culture emphasizes human sociality. It puts human social order and moral needs above their natural and physical needs. In the first movie this point is obvious. One of the highlights of Three Decisive Campaigns is the morality of the hero and the immorality of the false hero. The movie gives more attention to Mao's morality than competence. All shots, dialogues and commentary on Mao and Chiang serve to show that morality is a critical determinant of political achievement and good social order. The values presented in the text are mostly moral values. In my previous analysis of Mao's and his generals' virtues, ten values out of fourteen are oriented towards morality and group needs for good social order. These virtues are conformity to the Mandate of Heaven, benevolent governing, justice, faithfulness, modesty, loyalty, patriotism, magnanimity, sacrifice and democracy. Indeed, there are only four individual qualities : wisdom, courage, diligence, and frugality. Most moral codes are based on duties rather than rights. There is no description of Mao's individual need for sex or money in the movie. The distinction between a hero and a false hero and his henchmen fundamentally centres on this difference. Mao is thus presented as a cultural hero, who puts his moral life above his physical life and combines his social achievements with the benefit of his people in an attempt to achieve a moral harmony between nature and society, like other sage-emperors.

However, American culture emphasizes human physical needs and rights. It contends that the individual is the basis of the society, and the social order is achieved mainly by common contracts and laws. In Jurassic Park an emphasis on individual rights and desires for money, entertainment, and sex are prominent. The Park is built for amusement and profit. Every character except the children has his or her profit motive for visiting the Park. Hammond is the capitalist of the Park. He has the acceptable motive of establishing the theme park to make money if it is safe for the public. Malcolm is the mathematician working for Hammond. Grant and Sattler agreed to participate in the investigation because Hammond promised to give them three year's financial support for their research. The legal counsel Gennaro has his financial interest in the Park. Nedry committed a crime for money. The film shows that it is right that a person make money legally. Another prominent issue is the subtle relationship between Sattler and the two men, Grant and Malcolm.

Because of this individual orientation, the heroes in Jurassic Park are not perfectly good as those in the first movie. They are not authenticated by Heaven according to their moral perfectibility, their heroic stature depending heavily on such individual qualities as technological competence, courage and responsibility. The movie thus makes every effort to emphasize these individual

virtues. Many examples can be found, such as the shots of Sattler curing a sick Triceratops, her courage in rescuing her lover Grant and the two children, Grant's guts and knowledge of dinosaurs, Malcolm's chaos theory and responsibility for protecting the children, the girl Lex's ability to operate the computer.

The individual orientation also influences the function of medium. According to Monaco (1981), film has four determinants, sociopolitical, psychological, technical and economic (Monaco, 1981, pp. 12-13). Unlike Three Decisive Campaigns which emphasizes the sociopolitical determinant over the others, Jurassic Park stresses technical and economic determinants. In order to make the film more interesting, aesthetic and profitable, the film-maker uses the high technology of computers and machinery to render six kinds of dinosaurs more vivid and real looking. For profit, the film script was modified from Crichton's novel to be more entertaining and appealing to children, which is quite frightening and sociopolitical. Hammond in the novel, a nasty gold-rusher, has turned into a Santa Claus with foibles.

7.3.2 CONTEXT-RELATED THINKING VS. ABSTRACT THINKING

It should be noted that the presentation of Mao's morality and Chiang's immorality is also culturally determinated. It is holistic, context-related and concrete. In the movie Mao's virtues and Chiang's vices are presented through many trivial events to present a holistic picture of the ruling and proletarian classes, focussing upon the two relations: a) interpersonal relationships with family members, generals, soldiers and common people, b) the relationship between what the hero or a false hero said and what he had done. The shots and the dialogues concerning Mao's and Chiang's speech, and their actions are always presented in a comparable and complementary way. For example, the shots and conversations concerning the pencil that Mao sends to his daughter for her birthday, the overcoat that Mao sends to his son, the mill of Mao's residence are used to present Mao's thrift, and diligence, as well as his kindness and love for his children. The other examples are the shots and conversations concerning Mao meeting his friend Xiao San, practising shooting with his generals and soldiers, playing basketball, etc. By contrast, the shots and conversations concerning Chiang's family meeting, his birthday and his relationship with his generals indicate his lavishness, orthodoxy and meanness. In addition, the virtue of Mao's courage is not only presented in his actions facing the attack from the rival, but also in the events involving Mao's generals, soldiers and common people when

facing danger. The timidity of Chiang is also presented in such a way. In a sum, it is holistic and context-related thought prevailing in Chinese culture that determines the editing rules.

However, the presentation of the main characters and their related values in Jurassic Park is abstract. We know that Grant does not like children at the beginning from his using a dinosaur claw to scare a boy. We know that Malcolm is not serious in his sexual life only from his remark to Sattler that "I am always looking for an ex-Ms. Malcolm." There is little description of interrelationship issues concerning family members, and team members. Every character is individualized. There is little presentation of trivial events irrelevant to the plot. This abstract way of thinking emphasizes the suspension editing rule.

The difference in the way of thinking also influences the usage of film signs. According to Peter Wollen (1969), the cinematic shots and images can be divided into three kinds of sign in terms of their two different ways of communicating meaning: denotatively and connotatively. The three kinds of sign are the icon, the index and the symbol. The icon is a sign in which the signifier represents the signified mainly by its similarity to it, its likeness. The index is a sign which measures a quality. The symbol is an arbitrary sign which measures a conventional relationship (Wollen, 1969; ref. Monaco, 1981, p.133). Compared with Jurassic Park, Three Decisive Campaigns uses more symbols than indices to communicate values. There are plenty of examples in the movie, such as the symbol of white cloth indicating death, the symbol of railway means the Christian Cross[1] indicating Chiang's fate, the horse symbol indicating the army, the empty study indicating Chen Bu-lei's suicide, the Yellow River indicating the Mandate of Heaven, the rising sun indicating the greatness of Mao, the symbol of Mao ascending the Great Wall indicating his ascending the peak of power, and so on. The preference for using symbols reflects is an impressive characteristic of Chinese cognition. In other words, Chinese tend to use associative thinking and intuition (Meng Wan-jin, 1992, pp.73-76).

By contrast, the use of the index to communicate values is another characteristic of Jurassic Park. The most impressive example is the index of amber, which has an inherent relationship with the cloned dinosaur, because the blood of the mosquito in the amber might carry the dinosaur DNA. Other examples are the

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1. The railway is compared to the Christian Cross by the narrator in the movie.

index of the eggshell for indicating dinosaurs' breeding, the index of a cap which the dinosaur-raiser used to distract the T-rex's attention to indicate the intelligence of dinosaurs, the indices of many roaring and desperately running Gallimimuses indicating the ferociousness of the T-rex, etc. The preference for using indices reveals that Americans tend to use abstract thinking.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The above analysis indicates that the narrative presentation is heavily influenced by the characteristics of the culture including thinking, conventions, philosophical focus, significant values and beliefs. The study of modelling and narrative cannot neglect the cultural factors permeating the narrative. It is well known in cognitive anthropology that the relationship between what one thinks about and how one thinks is decisively reflected in the narratives through the relationship between what is presented and how it is presented (Holland & Quinn, 1987). The analysis of cultural factors in the presentive ways of these two movies illustrates that culture not only greatly affects what kind of value model is presented and how it is presented, but also affects why it can be accepted. Thus a sound modelling study should explain the important factors of both narrative and culture.

In the analysis, the differences between Chinese culture and American culture centres on these aspects. In essence, the Chinese culture focuses upon human morality and sociality, and is thus group-oriented. It prefers a holistic, harmonious, dialectal, and context-related way of thinking, and emphasizes moral values concerning social needs and interpersonal relationships.

American culture however focuses on individual rights and needs, and is thus individual-oriented. It prefers an abstract way of thinking, and emphasizes values concerning such individual qualities as competence, courage and responsibility.

These cultural differences also influence the use of film signs. In Three Decisive Campaigns symbols are used more frequently to communicate meaning and values. Indexes however can be seen as a typical conveyor of meaning in American movies.

8 DISCUSSION

8.1 THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The narrative analysis of the two movies in chapters five, six and seven at the levels of text, structure and logic and their relationships with modelling, narrative and culture, reveals that a value model in a film narrative would be greatly influenced by its narrative and cultural factors. This study explores these factors and offers a multidisciplinary view of how a visual model acts as a value model, on what premises it could be transformed into a value model, and how it is influenced by a given culture in its manner of presentation.

8.1.1 THE TEXTUAL LEVEL

A text is constituted by the formulaic elements which communicate meaning and values through their binary oppositions. Characters, especially heroes and false heroes, are the most important elements for value communication. Meaning and values are transmitted through the counter-events and shots about heroes and false heroes relating characters both with themselves and other formulaic elements. It should be noticed that each formulaic element is related to the other to render a value model from a character. Thus certain values prevailing in a given society are repeatedly communicated in every formulaic element. For values per se, redundancy is obviously one important attribute of a visual model. Some socially approved values in a given society are communicated by many redundant models. This result emerges from the analysis of the value models presented in Chinese dragon myths, monarch literature and the heroic film Three Decisive Campaigns. It can also be inferred that redundant value models are a useful means of communicating traditional values, and that seeing a movie is largely a redundant process of value learning.

Analysis of reasons for the subjects' preference shows that a redundant model mainly satisfies the viewer's ideological need. It also satisfies the viewers informative, aesthetic and affective needs as well. This point suggests that modelling is a very complicated process, which has at least two separate and related subprocesses: model selection and model matching. In terms of its high ideological valence, as well as its cognitive, aesthetic and affective

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valences, the characteristic of redundancy exists in both subprocesses, because model matching includes these four valences.

A analysis of the text of Jurassic Park reveals another attribute. The fact of teenagers' preference also shows that salience is as important as redundancy. The value models presented in the movie are quite new to the Chinese subjects. In the questionnaires, preference is centred on the informative and aesthetic valences. It should be noticed that no subject gave either an ideological reason or an affective reason. This point shows the particularity of value learning. Generally, society's common values and social conventions always change very slowly compared with the other aspects. The lag in value development determines the basic difference between value learning and other learning behaviour. For other learning behaviour, say, skill learning and fashion learning, the salient model will dominate model selection and matching (Bandura, 1986), but for value learning, it is difficult to draw the same conclusion.

It should be emphasized that model selection and model matching are two related and different subprocesses in the vicarious learning process. Although model selection is the basis of the matching behaviour, it is still not true that the former equals the latter. Sometimes people prefer certain value models but will not match them because of their different cultures, conventions, gender and status (Bandura, 1986). A typical example occurs in an investigation of the popular televised program, "Longing for" (He Jun, 1992). Eighty percent of female subjects said that they would not want to be people like the heroine in this fiction, although they preferred and some even admired her. In this sense, a salient visual model influences model selection because it can arouse the viewer's attention more strongly and accord with his or her preference (Bandura, 1986). However, it is too simple to conclude that it will elicit the viewer's modelling behaviour at the outset.

As a matter of fact, the salient value model generally experiences a transformation of the salient into the redundant before working as a motivator of the likely behaviour. Let us look at the subjects in the city of Guangzhou. The foreign films mentioned including those from Hong Kong and Taiwan account for 26% (senior class) and 28% (junior class) respectively. The percentages are even higher (38%) in another survey (Pan Yu-teng, 1991). Given the increasing frequency of foreign films for the teenagers in Guangzhou, the value models presented in these movies are less salient, but more redundant. In

addition, the values in a particular movie are repeatedly communicated by its formulaic elements. This two-way redundancy produces a very strong value-enhanced context, which exerts a strong effect on the viewer's modelling behaviour. This characteristic is aptly explained by Bandura's reinforcement theory that the modelled behaviour is affected by "how much, as well as by how often, others are rewarded" (Bandura, 1986, p. 301). It also can be explained by the dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), which maintains that if a person experiences enough discord or dissatisfaction with the behaviour or attitude, the behaviour or attitude will be changed. Since both theories emphasize that the amount of repetition is a predictor of modelling behaviour and value change, I assume that a salient model would promote dissemination of new values by its influence on model selection, and that a redundant model would influence both processes. The united and changeable relationship between salience and redundancy explains how traditional values are transmitted from one generation to the next by mass media, and how values can be changed as the society develops.

8.1.2 THE STRUCTURAL LEVEL

A analysis of the twelve Proppian functions in the two movies shows the linkages between the narrative pattern, genre and values. These twelve Proppian functions are as follows: Pfa. Initial Situation, Pf8. Villainy, Pf8a. Lack, Pf9. Mediation, Pf11. Departure, Pf14. Provision or Receipt of a Magical Agent, Pf16. Struggle, Pf18. Victory, Pf19. Liquidation, Pf30. Punishment, Pf29. Transfiguration, Pf31. Wedding and the Hero Ascends the Throne.

In the movies the Proppian functions follow the three narrative rules. The functional rule regulates the sequence of the actions and relevant events, by which the values and meaning are transmitted. The moral rule demarcates the good functions (actions) from the bad. The reinforcement rule defines the reinforcing outcomes of the characters. These three rules dominate the construction of the Proppian functions. On the one hand, they create a self-evident logic for value and meaning communication. On the other, they create a cause-effect link between action, morality and reinforcement. This last characteristic has great significance for modelling. It is evident that the binary oppositions permeate all twelve Proppian functions in Three Decisive Campaigns, while eleven occur in Jurassic Park, Pf29. Transfiguration being the exception. The study of the narrative structure also shows the influence of genre. The cliches in a genre not only largely influence what kind of Proppian function is to be presented, but also influence what kind of relation subsists between action,

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morality and reinforcement. In the Chinese heroic genre, the most important Proppian function is ascend vs. descend. The three narrative rules regulate the twelve Proppian functions to form a definite and individual relation between action, morality, and reinforcement. In this genre, the Proppian functions of the hero should be wholly contrasted with those of the false hero for the purpose of presenting the self-evident logic that the good will win and the bad will be punished.

In science-fiction Gothic like Jurassic Park, the most important Proppian function is survive vs. die. The three narrative rules regulate the Proppian functions to form a generalized and contingent relation between action, morality, and reinforcement. In the second genre, the hero is not perfectly good. The outcome of the hero largely depends on the contingency.

Genre also influences what kind of main thematic conflict is involved. To be precise, the main thematic conflict in the twelve Proppian functions has differences in each genre. Three Decisive Campaigns focuses upon the conflict between man and man in the value aspect of justice vs. injustice. Jurassic Park is concerned with man vs. nature in the value aspect of responsibility vs. irresponsibility.

8.1.3 THE FUNCTION OF A CHARACTER AS A VALUE MODEL

Considering modelling, the study shows that a character in a movie mainly provides the necessary information for viewers through role transformation and its relationship with other characters and other formulaic elements. This information includes knowledge about role norms in a given society, vicarious reinforcement experience through the outcome of the character, and the contingency between situation and action. This knowledge is vital to model learning. My study provides the narrative support for Bandura's finding that the informative function is the primary effect of a model on vicarious learning (Bandura, 1986).

This result is based on the following reason. A movie narrative has a number of characters. A character assumes many different narrative roles, which contain much information about the social roles in society. They are thus more or less similar to social roles. The transformation of characters and narrative roles creates the contingency of the character's action, and puts every action into a specific situation. In this sense, every character and narrative role is distinctive and is situational. Seeing the transformation of characters and roles

provides the contingent knowledge. This knowledge is important for modelling (Bandura, 1973; 1986).

Characters always experience a kind of tension between roles and roles, roles and virtual egos. This tension reflects many real conflicts in society. The transformation of narrative roles and characters around the multiple thematic conflicts provides basic knowledge of social norms and values in a given society.

Furthermore, every character has its outcome in a movie. The positive or negative outcome of a character gives viewers' vicarious reinforcement experience. In most cases, this vicarious reinforcement experience produces anticipation for the viewer when he or she acts out the likely behaviour (Bandura, 1986; 1997), thus influencing model learning. Viewing the negative or positive outcome of the character can influence model learning (ibid.). These three similarities between narrative roles and social roles explain how a viewer can practise vicarious learning when viewing a movie character.

8.1.4 THE THREE PREMISES FOR A CHARACTER AS A VALUE MODEL

The study also delineates the three premises for a character to be an effective value model, as the two movies are the favourites of the subjects. These premises influence modelling because, before the viewer decides to match a certain model, she or he will at first think of its reality, rationality and efficacy (Bandura, 1986; Nöth, 1990).

The study shows that any effective character should at least conform to the three premises of reality, rationality and efficacy. The analysis of the two movies and the sampling proves that the reality of the main characters is actualized mostly by ideological relevance, audience familiarity and narrative plausibility (characterized plausibility and scientific plausibility). The issue of rationality focuses upon the respects of social prevalence and functional valences such as information, aesthetics and affections. The issue of efficacy refers to the reinforcing outcome of a character in respect of quality, frequency, magnitude and contingency. These three premises can influence value acceptance and model selection because they reflect the relationship between person, environment and behaviour by providing the ideological, psychological and semiotic bases for viewer judgement.

Although the valences of ideology, knowledge, aesthetics and affection are four dominating psychological preferences for visual models, there are some differences in the two schools. In a broad sense, most subjects in the Nanchang County middle school tend to put the valence of ideology first. They consider the valence of aesthetics the least important. For example, only two out of thirty-eight subjects who chose Three Decisive Campaigns cited an aesthetic reason. But in the Guangzhou middle school, there are ten subjects among forty-two subjects who chose the film for this reason. Evidence also can be found in the reason part of the questionnaire.

The movie analyses indicate that the narrative genre influences the three premises. In the heroic movie genre, the audience familiarities centre on the three aspects of the plot structure, beginning with a disordered and suffering society in which justice is badly lacking, then with the necessity of the intervention of the hero, who is authenticated by the Mandate of Heaven, and ending with his triumph. In the heroic film, the reality of the model largely depends on the characterization, such as the idealization of the hero's morality and emphasis of a Manichean antagonism between the hero and false hero. Such narrative plausibility through some special film techniques like casting and tags, makes the hero model look as "real" as that in our fantasy about a utopian world.

In Jurassic Park, the audience familiarities mainly include man's strong anxiety about being unsafe (in most cases, this means alien invasion), and man's helplessness and victimization when confronting an alien. As science-fiction films always violate the reality of the society, the reality of the model in such films relies greatly on the scientific plausibility which convinces the viewer of the possibility of their scientific truth. This characteristic especially meets the adolescent's need for knowledge and imagination, as the reason part of the questionnaire shows.

Moreover, genre also influences the efficacy of the visual model at the levels of reinforcement forms, frequency, magnitude and contingency. In Three Decisive Campaigns, the outcomes of the hero and false hero respectively produce disinhibitory effects on the likely behaviour, which is rewarded with power, or inhibitory effects on the likely behaviour, which is punished. The discriminatary reinforcement in the heroic genre castrates the contingent condition for reward or punishment. Pro-social behaviour is motivated by creating a causal relation between moral behaviour and its outcome.

As for frequency, this kind of film and televised fiction still accounts for an overwhelming amount, 50% in all films and television shows mentioned. The reinforcement of frequency and magnitude are both strong. But in Jurassic Park, the indiscriminative reinforcement actualized by the outcomes of the victimized characters produces strong inhibitory effects on the likely behaviour. In such fictions, the outcomes of a character are by large contingent. However, while the reinforcement magnitude is still strong, the frequency is much lower than that of the heroic films, since the science fiction movie always focuses on a life and death issue, which is valued as the first priority by humans. In sum, this study reveals that the narrative factors do influence the effectiveness of a visual model. There is no doubt that an adequate model theory should take these into account.

8.1.5 MODELLING, NARRATIVE AND CULTURE

The analysis of the way in which the narrative is presented shows us the cultural influence on movie models. Three Decisive Campaigns is the product of Chinese culture, which sees nature as humanized God, emphasizes human social needs such as morality, social order and group interest, preferring the cognitive method of harmony and unification. Shots of natural phenomena in the movie thus have ethical meanings. It is very obvious that the moral issue is overwhelmingly emphasized in the Chinese heroic narrative. Most moral codes are heavily based on the duties concerning the interpersonal relationships in a family and society.

The cultural priority also influences the function of the film. The movie serves for the satisfaction of the social political need. The presentation of Mao and Chiang is culturally determined as well. It is holistic and context-related. Mao's virtues and Chiang's vices are presented in many trivial events focussing on the two relations: the relationship between a hero or a false hero and his family members, generals, soldiers and common people, and the relationship between what a hero or a false hero said and what he has done. These two relations present a holistic moral picture of the ruling class and the proletarian class. Plenty of examples of using symbol signs in the first movie reveal one of the Chinese ways of thinking. Chinese like to use intuition, related and associative thinking.

Jurassic Park, a product of American culture, prefers the cognitive method of demarcation and classification, and focussing on individual needs and rights. The individual orientation of American culture centres on the individual

qualities of a cultural hero. Heroic stature heavily depends on such qualities as technological competence, courage and responsibility rather than moral perfectibility. Furthermore, this individual orientation of the culture also influences the function of the film. Jurassic Park mainly satisfies the need of technique (aesthetics) and economics (profit). The high frequency of index signs to communicate values in the movie shows that Americans tend to abstract thinking.

8.2 FROM THE MOVIE VALUES TO ADOLESCENT ETHICS

The analyses of the two favourite movies and the reasons that the subjects gave in their questionnaires provide the readers with some ideas about Chinese adolescent ethics. Generally speaking, the traditional values of humanity (benevolent governing), patriotism, wisdom, courage, justice, faith, loyalty and sacrifice are more significant than the other values in both schools. For example, in the six favourite movies of all subjects four movies are heroic, one is about the family tie, and one is a science-fiction movie. Among the four heroic films, three are about authority figures. The phenomenon that heroic fiction dominates the teenagers' movie and television shows explains that some heroic qualities, especially traditional values and beliefs, are still considered as important in their value repertories. Another conclusion is that authority is considered an important value by Chinese teenagers.

Besides, the subjects also indicate their special value preferences. In the reason parts, teenagers made much of social recognition, wisdom, patriotism and knowledge. For Three Decisive Campaigns, out of 80 (n= 152) subjects who chose the movie as their favourite, there are 34 subjects who emphasize such heroic qualities as social achievements, wisdom and patriotism, while 26 subjects emphasize the value of knowledge. There is a general trend that the adolescents in the sample put the ethical valence of the models above the informative and aesthetic valences. For Jurassic Park, out of 69 teenagers who chose the movie as their favourite, 18 subjects (26%) thought that the movie was an impetus to imagination and knowledge. This result is consistent with Li Bo-shu's survey, a comparative study of teenagers' values in China, Australia and USA, in which the four most important values for the Chinese adolescents are found by Rokeach's Value Survey. These are wisdom, a sense of accomplishment, knowledge and national security (more detail see Li Bo-shu, 1992, pp. 443-448).

There are some differences in gender. Generally, female subjects like the films about family ties and interpersonal relationships more. In the Guangzhou middle school, the movie Mom, Please Love Me Once More is the favourite among female subjects. Nineteen of twenty-eight female juniors chose it, accounting for 69%. In the senior class, the percentage is 50% (10 out of 20). But the percentages of the male subjects in these two classes are 14% (3 of 21) and 6.4% (2 of 31) respectively. However, in the Nanchang County senior middle school, there is no significant difference. The percentage of the female is 53% (10 of 19), and male, 55% (18 of 33).

Age might be a factors too. For juniors, the value of knowledge is ranked first. This is one of the vital reasons why they like science-fiction films. In their six most preferred films, there are two science-fiction films. But for the seniors, the value of social recognition or achievement is ranked first in their questionnaires. This might explain why the seniors of both schools chose the heroic film as their favourite. In their lists of the six favourite movies, none is science fiction. In the Guangzhou senior class, the six favourites are all heroic movies, two of them being American heroic films. In the Nanchang County senior class, five of six are heroic movies.

This study shows the trend in the development of adolescents' values. Because teenagers will have increasing opportunity to see Western films, and also because Western films, especially American, are more commercialized and entertaining, these films will exert powerful effects upon Chinese adolescent values. Western values, like the values of profit, individuality, democracy and feminism, will be much more conspicuous than before.

8.3 NEW CHALLENGES TO TRADITIONAL VALUES

Since 1978, when the Chinese government began the policy of "reform and opening up to the world", China has been experiencing a lot of changes. From 1978 to 1993, economic growth continued at a rate of 10% per year, GNP increased at 9.3% per year (People's Daily, Overseas edition, Dec. 16, 1994), and the increase in joint-venture companies and private enterprises has changed the national economic structures, which had been dominated by the state-owned and public-owned enterprises and farms since 1949. Now there are more than 27.36 million employees in private enterprise (ibid., Dec. 28, 1994). And the trend is increasing because the Chinese government has decided to reform and downsize the state-owned enterprises.

The economic growth and privatisation of enterprises also speeds up urbanization and geographical mobility. From 1984 to 1994, the cities have grown from 300 to 570, at an average increase of 6.6% per year. The population of the cities accounted for 35.7% of the whole in 1994, but 18.3% in 1984 (ibid., Dec.6, 1994).

Furthermore, the introduction of the Western ideology, philosophy, psychology, life-styles and values by the mass media has influenced many people, especially the young, in many aspects of their personal lives. For example, in the 80's, "A Western Philosophical-Ideological Study" emerged in the campuses of many Chinese universities, especially in those of Beijing and Shanghai. According to the investigation (Li Chun-lin, 1990), the favourite Western scholars are Sartre, Nietzsche, and Freud. Utilitarianism, existentialism, pragmatism and power politics still have influence on university students. No less than 75.96% of the university students in the investigation have studied Western ethics, politics, philosophy and psychology (ibid.). In a big research project covering Shanghai city and six provinces in the East China District, one item in the questionnaire is "Who is the greatest Western scholar and which school of Western philosophy has a great influence on you?" The result revealed that Sartre was ranked as the greatest scholar, existentialism the fifth most influential philosophy (Shi Xiu-yin, 1991).

In such an enhanced value environment, the traditional values have been challenged to an extent without precedent in history. First and foremost is the tremendous shift in the value of money and profit. The rush to make money in the last decade has contaminated Chinese society. Corrupt officers and speculators without scruples have become severe social problems. The traditional rule of "the gentleman pursues goodness, while the inferior man pursues profit" (The Analects, 4:16), like an overblown blossom, has lost its efficacy. Recent investigation shows that 60% of the sample thinks that "the purpose of work is to make money", rather than "to pursue the ideal or self-actualization" (Li Chun-lin, 1992). The young people called the "materialist generation" more prefer to take the life style of a rock star. They show more interest in seeking a more comfortable and more Western-style life than the older generation.

Democracy and equality are more valued than before, especially by the young and intellectuals. Individualism is much more prominent. The recent research shows this trend, 42.4% of the subjects in the affluent areas disapproving of the statement in the questionnaire that "A small state matter is much more

important than a big private one to every citizen." The other figures are 39.3% in the middle parts of China, and 35.1% in the poor areas (Li Chun-lin, 1992). But a research project by Wan Xin-chao, who used Hofstede's Value Questionnaire with the computer professionals in Beijing city, reveals that their work-related values are closely related to the power, collectivism and social approval (Shi Shao-hai, 1994).

It should be noticed that patriotism is still highly significant. More and more Chinese people are recognizing that "Backwardness means being defeated and insulted". They have been very humiliated at the backwardness of the country for the last two centuries. The recent research reveals that "The civilized and strong motherland" is considered as the second important value of eighteen end-state values by secondary school students in Beijing, second only to "A peaceful world" (Li Chun-lin, 1992). The main motivation for 90% of the university students is "Study hard to serve the country" (ibid.).

Fourth, the family values such as the role rules like the Three Obediences of a woman, are out of date. This is because Mao Ze-Dong and the Communist Party considered them as feudalist moralities. Other reasons are from the growth of the economy and the greater independence of women.

Last, authority is still much valued. Research into "The District Difference in the Youth Values" shows that 55.5% of the subjects in the affluent areas trust and respect the political and professional experts; the others are 57.2% in the middle areas; and 53.8% in the poor areas (Li Chun-lin, 1992). As for other traditional values, many are still stressed. In this research, "moral integrity" is ranked first (mean, 4.05), while others are loyalty (mean, 3.92), benevolence (mean, 3.87), wisdom (mean, 3.75), diligence (mean, 3.10) (Shi Xiu-yin, 1991). Most of Confucius' moral mottoes are still approved of. More than 86.58% of university students accept the motto "Being concerned about the country before others, and enjoying comfort after others" (Li Chun-lin, 1992), while 44.14% are for "Do not do unto others what you would not like others (to do) unto you" (ibid.).

Recently the successful examples of Japan and South Korea have produced a new trend in China, that is, more and more university students and scholars being interested in the traditional philosophy, such as Confucianism, Taoism and the Book of Change. More research has covered how Confucianism has been used for economic and administrative management. Neo-confucianism is becoming known and popular.

8.4 BANDURA'S SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY : Its Explanatory Power and Its Bias

Bandura's social theory provides an experimental explanation for modelling behaviour from the frame of reference of environmental, behavioural and personal predictors. His research conclusions about the model predictors of salience, prevalence, accessibility, functional valences of ideology, information, aesthetics and affection, and the vicarious outcome functions have been further corroborated by my narrative study of the models in the dragon myths, Confucius' classics and the two movies, as well as the sample's preference reasons. Being a behavioural psychologist, Bandura mainly refers to the change and modification in behaviour in both enactive and vicarious learning. His neglect of the narrative specialities of the movie model is understandable.

Actually, the movie model is different from the other model. Since it exists in a fictional world made of cinematic signs, its modelling effect also relies on the narrative characteristics of genre, structure, text, and logic, and the cultural characteristics of value priorities and cognitive ways. In this sense, Bandura's model has its limitations. It cannot adequately account for how the character functions as a value model, or how the fictional model can be accepted as the "real", rational, and efficient one before it actually affects the viewer's modelling behaviour. A movie model then actually consists of narrative and incentive functions. Bandura's study aims to determine the incentive function from the evidence of psychological determinants. To some extent, my study is a supplement to his as it specifies the prerequisites for the visual model from the viewpoints of semiotics and culture. An adequate theory must be a combination of these two and deal with three classes of basic elements, narrative factors, cultural factors, and psychological factors. These all operate interactively to influence value learning.

This study reveals that the narrative factors such as genre, narrative plausibility, text and the structural characteristics of the Proppian functions and binary oppositions, and the culturally significant values, beliefs and conventions affect the effectiveness of a movie model. A movie model provides the viewer with knowledge about social role norms, the environmental contingency and the vicarious reinforcing experience. However, these results have only been drawn from the analysis of two movies. Their reliability and validity should be further tested by future research.

8.5 SOME REFLECTIONS ON FILM, TELEVISION AND EDUCATION

William Arrowsmith prophesied in 1969 that "in humanistic education the future lies in film" (Arrowsmith, 1969, p. 75). In the last twenty years, a lot of literature has confirmed his prophecy, and considered feature films and television programs as a pedagogical resource (Proctor, 1990a). Research on the teaching effectiveness of films shows that "the dramatic film may be used for several specific educational purposes: to attack racial, religious and ethnic prejudices; to breed tolerance for differing ways of life; to change self-destructive social habits; to offer insight into historically important persons and events; to inculcate ideologies; and to sugar-coat the teaching of a process or a theme" (Madsen, 1973, p.449).

This study elicits my view of how feature films and television programs can be used for moral education in school. Teachers can carefully choose various value models in certain films to integrate them into the moral course to heighten students' interest in ethical learning. In China textbooks on ethical education are usually quite boring, and students lack motivation in the class. Because of their ideological, informative, affective and aesthetic valences, the use of films and television fiction can be more effective when they are well-designed.

My suggestions on how to choose effective models are concerned with the following aspects. First, teachers should have a clear goal for film teaching. The teaching goal includes the values and moral behaviour the students are expected to know as a consequence of their viewing selected models in a particular movie. In order to meet the teaching goal, the teacher should explain it before viewing. On the other hand, the selected models should meet the ideological, informative, aesthetic and affective needs of the target audience, and consider the characteristics of their value preference, such as social achievements, knowledge, wisdom and patriotism for Chinese adolescents.

The subject matter is the second concern. The study shows that Chinese teenagers prefer films concerning the social order. They like to see heroic movies about the important authorities in history. In addition, they also like science-fiction movies, which have high aesthetic and informative valences. Female students prefer movies about family ties and interpersonal relationships.

The third concern is the reinforcing function. This may be through such practices as repetition of some important values and moral behaviour presented by characters. This

should be interwoven into the teaching program if possible. Furthermore, a guided discussion about evaluation of the moral actions of value models and their outcomes would facilitate the viewers' modelling.

The fourth concern is the environmental contingency. The discussion or test about the contingency between behaviour, situation and outcome will teach the students knowledge about what behaviour is good or bad in a given situation. The well-designed movie and televised material can thus offer teenagers opportunities for value clarification, dealing with different value conflicts, and acquiring the particular role rules and expectations.

It should be emphasized that because film and television provides a virtual reality and lots of films and televised programs are commercially contaminated, it is very important to teach students to view them critically. "Fictional stories can form an environment of cultural, social, and even physical truths even when there is nothing literally real in them" (Gerbner, 1990, pp.249-262; ref. Shapiro & McDonald, 1995, p.333). Teenagers still have to learn the differences between "a character and a real person", "real and make-believe" and "commercials and programs" (Schrag, 1990, pp.40-52). In this study the concepts of narrative plausibility, audience familiarities, parallels between sequential events and formulaic elements, the three narrative rules in the twelve Proppian functions are helpful for students to understand how film and television construct their characters to communicate their rationalizations and "lie" to the viewer. This way of making critical judgments about the film and televised program they watch permits teachers to guide students to get rid of the side-effects of the media and cultivate their own censorship. This is an imperative task for Chinese educators as this issue is greatly neglected by researchers and instructors.

It is also a task for educators to guide parents, especially young mothers, as good censors of films and televised programs for their children from the modelling theory viewpoint. The model characteristics, such as outcome functions, accessibility, the model rationality and model efficacy can be important criteria for visual model censorship.

8.6 A STARTING POINT FOR A FURTHER RESEARCH PROJECT

As I mentioned above, this research is only a primitively narrative study of a few value models in some Chinese narratives and two movies. A larger research program is needed to test the results from different theoretical approaches, as China has plenty of literature and media resources. Moreover, a cross-ethnic study could be more appropriate for a

country with 56 nationalities. In addition, my primary concern should be about how to use modelling theory in the classroom. This area encompasses the pedagogical concerns demanded by a telecommunication world in which the mass media play a great role in people's thinking, values, and beliefs. In this sense, educators, particular at the primary and secondary levels, must begin to confront the impact of visual models in the classroom. For Chinese educational researchers, it is time to put the theories into practice, because no matter how wonderful those theories are, they are just wasted tools if they simply serve our sophisticated conferences and university graduate programs.

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APPENDIX I

TABLE 1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

2. Gender (1=M 2=F) 2. Grade 3. Date of Birth 4. Hobbies
5. Entertainments 6. The Preferred Movies
7. Reasons

HOBBIES

H1. Literature H2. Mathematics H3. Philosophy
H4. Home Economics H5. Writing H6. Calligraphy
H7. Aeroplane & Ship Models H8. Sport
H9. Movie & TV H10. Singing & Dancing

ENTERTAINMENTS

E1. Cinema E2. Television E3. Video E4. Concert-going

REASONS

R1. Ethical and Conventional Valence
R2. Informative Valence
R3. Aesthetic Valence
R4. Affective Valence

THE TEN PREFERRED MOVIES ACROSS THE WHOLE SAMPLE

M1. Three Decisive Compaigns (Historical Feature Films)
M2. Jurassic Park (American Science Fiction)
M3. Mom, Please Love Me Once More (Feature Film)
M4. Shao Lin Temple (Action-Oriented Feature Film)
M5. Tunnel Warfare (Feature Film about the War against the Japanese)
M6. Zhou En-lai (Biographical Feature Film)
M7. Future Soldier (American Science Fiction)
M8. Jiao Yu-lu (Biographical Feature Film)
M9. The First Blood (American Feature Film about the Vietnam War)
M10. Different Shapes (American Science Fiction)

APPENDIX II

TABLE 2.THE TEN PREFERRED FILMS AND THEIR GENRE

Title	Heroic	SF	Other
Three Decisive Campaigns	x		
Jurassic Park		x	
Mom, Please Love Me Once More			x
Shao Lin Temple	x		
Tunnel Warfare	x		
Zhou En-Lai	x		
Future Soldier		x	
Jiao Yu-Lu	x		
The First Blood	x		
Different Shapes		x	

TABLE 3. THE THEMES OF THE TEN MOVIES

Title	Justice	Family	Man vs. alien
Three Decisive Campaigns	x		
Jurassic Park			x
Mom,Please Love Me Once More		x	
Shao Lin Temple	x		
Tunnel Warfare	x		
Zhou En-Lai	x		
Future Soldier			x
Jiao Yu-Lu	x		
The First Blood	x		
Different Shapes			x

TABLE 4. THE CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEN MOVIES

Title	Conflicts	Redundancy	Salience
Three Decisive Campaigns		x	x
Jurassic Park	x		x
Mom,Please Love Me Once More	x	x	
Shao Lin Temple	x	x	
Tunnel Warfare	x	x	
Zhou En-Lai	x	x	
Future Soldier	x		x
Jiao Yu-Lu	x	x	
The First Blood	x	x	
Different Shapes	x		x

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